Photo J. Caswall Smith.

Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

AGED 65.

THE LIFE OF
CARDINAL VAUGHAN

BY

J. G. SNEAD-COX

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THE LIFE OF CARDINAL VAUGHAN

CHAPTER I

THIRD ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

CARDINAL MANNING died on the morning of January 14th, 1892. The day before his death he had made his last public profession of faith in the presence of the Chapter, and all through the last night of his life the Bishop of Salford was at his bedside. Writing to the present Bishop of Salford, Dr. Casartelli, Herbert Vaughan said: "It has been a great consolation to me to help my old friend of forty-one years to die. From 4 a.m. to 7.30 the time was spent in ejaculatory prayers." Writing more fully to Mrs. Ward, he says: "A few lines about the Cardinal's death will interest you. He refused to take any more drugs and gave himself up to prayer. From 4 to 7.30 I made ejaculatory prayers for him, repeating oftener those he loved best, such as '*Dulcissime Jesu non sis mihi judex sed salvator*,' and '*Fiat*,' '*Laudetur*,' &c., 'Jesus, mercy!' 'Mary, help!' &c., &c., with acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition. At 7.30 I said it was time for Mass, and asked whether he would like me to go and say it for him—he was still clear and conscious." Before that Mass was over the Cardinal was dead.

Cardinal Manning had lived his life, and his work was

done, but his death meant a great blank in the world of English Catholicism. There was never any doubt at all, however, as to who would be chosen to succeed him. The choice of the Chapter, of the Bishops, and of the Holy See was so discounted by public opinion, that when the official news came it seemed only the ratification of the popular selection. The "Rome Correspondents" and news agencies were so sure that the Bishop of Salford would now be called to Westminster that they announced the appointment three or four times before it was actually made.

The Westminster Chapter met at the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, on February 9th, to choose a *terna*. They sent up the following names in alphabetical order: those of the Bishop of Salford; Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport; and Mgr. Gilbert, Vicar-General of Westminster. At a meeting held on the following day at Archbishop's House, under the presidency of William Vaughan, Bishop of Plymouth, the English Bishops adopted the *terna* chosen by the Chapter and, recommending Herbert Vaughan, forwarded the document to Rome.

There was one man who viewed these proceedings with apprehension and disapproval. With a strange mingling of humility and self-knowledge, and a detachment of which few men are capable, Herbert Vaughan silently passed in review his own qualities and capacities, and then contrasted them with those which might fairly be expected of the occupant of the See of Westminster. All his life he underrated his own intellectual powers, and when he thought of Cardinal Manning and all he had been in the face of the English people he seemed to see his own deficiencies as in a glass. He was not the man to shrink from the sight—on the contrary, he

looked at it steadily, in his own brave, unblinking way, until he was satisfied that he was fitter to be a Bishop in a Lancashire city than Metropolitan in London. The conviction that some one else would make a better Archbishop than he carried with it an imperative duty. There was not a moment to be lost; it was thought that the appointment to the vacant See would be made within the fortnight. Without taking counsel with any one he sat down and wrote a letter for submission to the Holy See.

After noting that the *terna* chosen by the Chapter had been approved by the Bishops, and saying he thinks it more respectful to submit his remonstrances before the matter has come under the consideration of the Pope, he says: "A person may succeed in the subordinate position of a Bishop in a provincial city such as Manchester, and yet be very unfit to be Metropolitan and fill the See of Westminster. The duties are altogether of a different order, and they require altogether different qualifications. I do not possess these higher qualifications, and feeling convinced of this I should be risking my own peace of mind and the salvation of my soul were I not, upon the first opportunity, to press this consideration upon the mind of your Holiness. The See of Westminster ought to be occupied by a Bishop distinguished for some gift of superior learning or by remarkable sanctity, for he ought to be commended to the Church and to the people of England (for whose conversion he may be able to do more than any one else) by some manifest superiority or excellence. Holy Father, it is no mock modesty or fashion of speech which makes the confession that I have no qualification of learning for such a post. I do not excel as a preacher, an author, a theologian, a philosopher, or even

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as a classical scholar. Whatever I may be in these matters, in none am I above a poor mediocrity. It will be very easy in such a position as the See of Westminster to compromise the interests of religion in England by errors of judgment—and the very quality of a certain tenacity and determination would make these errors still more serious. As to the other characteristic, sanctity of life, which often makes up for certain intellectual shortcomings, I will only say this, that no one will have been so blind as to have said that I possess this compensating degree of holiness. These, most holy Father, seem to me to be manifest reasons for addressing your Holiness, upon whom much responsibility rests for the progress of religion in England and in every country in the world. I beg of you to select some one more worthy of this important position, and I will gladly continue to labour, where I have been for nearly twenty years, as long as God shall give me strength."

To many this will seem an astonishing document; for those who knew Cardinal Vaughan at all intimately it can contain no surprises. It is only the simple and direct expression of a feeling of which his friends were well aware. The See was not filled as soon as was expected. The Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda did not meet until the 21st of March. On that day their judgment was reported to the Holy Father, and on the 29th Herbert Vaughan was definitively appointed Archbishop of Westminster.

The Archbishop-Elect was quickly interviewed, and many papers had more or less flattering accounts of his career, and more or less accurate appreciations of his character. Among these was one written for the *National*

Observer by one of W. E. Henley's brilliant young men who at the same time was on the staff of the *Tablet*—the late Mr. Vernon Blackburn. Through the mask of a certain foppishness of words, and in spite of its humour of exaggeration, one seems to get very near the man. The Cardinal himself read it at the time with great amusement.

"His face betrays none of that superfluity of nervousness, that keen-edged sensitiveness, which dominated Cardinal Manning so cruelly. For Dr. Vaughan has a more contented, a more complacent view of life. He is perhaps somewhat less personally compassionate for the multitude. He has a straightforward philosophy, in which optimism has the preponderance of motive, and he is English in a most native sense. There is the blood of an English squire in his veins, and, entrusted with a different destiny, it might have been his to retrieve a shattered fortune, to repurchase old lands and old dwellings, to fill a Herefordshire valley with the indications of his own energy and enterprise, to hunt and ride with the best, to sit in local judgment, to win a reputation of wit as an after-dinner speaker, to direct his merchandise successfully over many lands, to die and go forth to burial, to lie till the crack of doom under his own effigy in his own parish church, his virtues and his benefactions chronicled in an elegant epitaph upon perdurable stone. But his destiny was otherwise willed. From a long ancestry, into which a Spanish element had some time been fused, he derives a religious impulse and fervour which from his extreme youth have been paramount influences over his action. Cradled, as it were, in quintessential Catholicism, the spirit within him of the rural

overlord has been changed and remodelled thereby. His commercial genius, his abounding energy, his Conservative persuasions, his merchant spirit, were accordingly given to the Church; and time has proved the value of his gift.

"His career has been long and not unconventional. The history of a Roman ecclesiastic is quickly recorded. He begins, as all must, at the lowest place; he may rise thence to be a Monsignore, thence to be a Bishop, thence to be an Archbishop, possibly a Cardinal, and, in the unique case, Pope. The quality, above everything, which is necessary for such promotion is energy. A moderate education is demanded; but in art and science and letters there is no examination. Now, this Dr. Vaughan is a man whose mere vitality is prodigious. From the outset he has needed no more than opportunity for its expenditure; and as he has never let an opportunity escape, so, when such opportunity did not lie to his hand, he has gone about fervently to find it. He would be a journalist, and he proceeded to buy the *Tablet;* he would guide literary taste, and he swallowed the *Dublin Review*—a heavy dish; he would evangelise the Heathen, and he ran up missionary colleges, travelled in America and founded a Society; he would be educator of youth, and he built a college in Manchester, and eke another in Germany; he would be a philanthropist, and the Salford Protection and Rescue Society was presently sent spinning down the road of his schemes; he has walked and talked where others have reposed and whispered. A journey to Rome is a hop with him, and a plunge through the United States a stroll.

"It follows that Archbishop Vaughan is no sentimentalist. He is busy over certain philanthropic works

because that is an avocation which he ranks among the duties of his life; but he is incapable of such literature as Dr. Barnardo and Mr. Booth do from time to time emit. Not that the Archbishop, probably, conquered any personal and insistent temptation to sentimentalism when he made choice of a principle; the thing is not in his blood. He is by nature and grace a Tory. It has often been said of him that he is even a rancorous politician; but the judgment is a foolish one. He is known to dislike, in a comprehensive way, a certain school of politicians; but it is not on record that he has made any personal effort to put them to public scorn. It may be said that the sole political questions to shake his enthusiasm into action are those which affect the interests of his Church. He has written vehement things and spoken vehement things about the Italian occupation of Rome; and to this day he continues to do so. He will continue to do so until the present Pope or one among his successors shall effect some truly satisfactory arrangement with the Kingdom of Italy. If such a conclusion be reached, the new Archbishop will cease to excite his mind over the subject without one memorial pang. He will tell no 'grey tales' of the battles past; he will merely turn to the consideration of a new ecclesiastical problem; the establishment of a hierarchy among the Esquimaux, or the conversion of the caretakers of London. It thus becomes a nice point to separate in such a life the real emotion from the dutiful. Absolutely speaking, and apart from the religious merit of the question, Dr. Vaughan cares as little for the occupation of Rome, or for Esquimaux Bishops, or for the souls of caretakers, as he does for the vicissitudes of Algol. Yet he has made these other matters so persistent a part

of his life that it is difficult, if not impossible, to effect the separation ; and the experiment were profitless enough."

The new Archbishop decided to stay in Manchester a few weeks longer, winding up his affairs in the diocese, and adjusting his thoughts to his new responsibilities. Writing to one of his oldest friends and helpers, Canon Beesley, at this time he says : " I am touched and greatly obliged by your kind letter. So the end has come, or one act at least has been completed. We are God's servants, and must do His Will as far as He makes it known, cost us what it may. I shall want all your prayers—to be pilot on so large a ship and in such dangerous waters as those the Church is traversing needs far more than my poor natural powers. May Our Lord show Himself in the ship and be ever with us! As for yourself, I trust that your health will improve, and that you will have many years of usefulness to the Church. The work we have done together has left nothing but sweet and consoling memories. I have always found you loyal and true. Take broad and generous views of work and be hopeful, and you will find that grace will come down in showers."

It was a great wrench to him to have to leave the diocese where he had worked so fruitfully and so well, and in more than one letter of this period comes the phrase " My heart is still in Salford." And though the call of the Holy See might sweep regrets out of sight, it could not save him from the uncomfortable feeling that the opportunity had come to him too late. He was sixty, and was it wise to transplant a Lancashire Bishop at that age to the New World of London ? One afternoon, when he was feeling more despondent than usual, he went into the college chapel at St. Bede's and knelt in a side gallery

out of sight of the sanctuary. Dr. Casartelli, the Rector, was preaching; the subject seemed remote enough from the Bishop's thoughts—it was the mission of St. Patrick. Suddenly came a sentence which riveted all his attention. The preacher told how St. Patrick was sixty when he first set foot in Ireland. The moment the sermon was over the Bishop left the church, and at once asked what authority there was for the remarkable statement that St. Patrick was sixty when he began the work of converting the people of Ireland. He listened to the reply, and then said eagerly, "Then I may take courage about Westminster."

During the few weeks he spent in his old diocese before going to Westminster he spoke twice in public, and on each occasion went out of his way to reproach himself before his people because he had been a Bishop among them so many years before he awakened to the truth that hundreds of Catholic children were being lost to the faith every year for want of a shepherd's care. Speaking at a great meeting of the Rescue Society in the Free Trade Hall, he said that "though their Bishop for fourteen years, he had been ignorant of what was going on around him, and he ought to have known, and he begged his hearers to atone for his neglect by new efforts." It was a note strangely out of harmony with the congratulations which were everywhere greeting him, but it stood for a thought that lived with him. In the same address he made use of a simile he was fond of—it summed up his outlook upon the world: "Their work was like a game of chess. Every one of them was useful to the game—the king, the queen, the knights, the pawns—they were all made of the same stuff and each played his own part for the time, but at the

end of the game all alike were swept off the board by the same hand into the same box." Once using the same figure of speech in conversation, he added with a smile, referring to himself, "and the king is just as wooden as the rest."

The new Archbishop came to town to take up his residence permanently in May. The manner of his entry into London was characteristic. In the morning of the day he was coming I was surprised to get a telegram from him asking me to meet him in the early afternoon at King's Cross. I was on the platform at the time named, and as the train drew up the Archbishop greeted me, and said smilingly, "You are not in a hurry, are you?" and then without waiting for a reply he went on, "They don't expect me at Archbishop's House for some time, so let us have a good talk." Then, giving his luggage in charge of a porter, he led the way to the broad drive in front of the Midland Station Hotel, and there for the best part of two hours we paced up and down. The whole time he talked eagerly and earnestly, pouring out his hopes and plans and fears. They were all based on the assumption that he might live or perhaps another ten years. He felt that was an outside estimate, and that the term of his active life would probably be shorter. But whether it were longer or shorter he meant that it should be filled with service. He was so full of his subject, had all the work he meant to do, and did do, so clearly mapped out, he seemed to take such a pleasure in building up his own projects into words, that I was able for the most part to be a listener. I have often wondered since at the method and perseverance with which the words of that afternoon were redeemed in the years that followed. His scheme for a Central Seminary,

his plans for bringing clergy and laity together, the Catholic Social Union, the Society of the Ladies of Charity, and, above all, Westminster Cathedral, were all put forward as so many things to be accomplished. When he told me he meant to build a great Cathedral I received the news in a silence of dismay. People are always so quick to say "*Ut quid perditio haec?*" when money is lavished upon bricks and mortar, and I thought the task of collecting the money hopelessly beyond his strength. He admitted the difficulty of doing the thing, but preferred to dwell upon the importance of getting it done. He was sure that the revival of the Catholic Church in England had reached a point in its development when the restoration of the life of the Cathedral was a necessity. And he looked to a Cathedral not only as necessary for the perfection of the liturgy and worship of the Church, but also as the centre of all Catholic life and activity. He had no money for building a Cathedral, but was confident that the Catholics of England would come to his help if only the right appeal were made to their hearts.

Then, talking of work amongst the poor, and the part which women might play in it, he stopped suddenly as though another thought had struck him, and said, "Tell me, have you ever got to like visiting the poor?" There was the embarrassment of a moment, and I could only point out that his query was an assumption as well as a question. "Yes," he said, with a laugh, "and that is an answer as well as an evasion." Then in graver tones he went on, "Then you are like me; I cannot bring myself to like visiting them in their homes. But I *must*, it is my plain duty—the way to their souls is often through their

temporal concerns." He spoke with an earnestness and a depth of feeling which were unusual with him. I felt at the moment that, whether or not Westminster Cathedral were ever begun, no effort would be spared to do something permanent in the way of bringing the rich and the poor of the diocese into closer contact. A few minutes later the Archbishop's luggage was being put on a four-wheeler, and so Herbert Vaughan started for his new home.

The enthronement of the Archbishop-Elect took place on Sunday, May 8th, at the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington. It was a very quiet ceremony, only one other Bishop being present. An address of welcome was read on behalf of both clergy and laity, to which the Archbishop replied. After a high tribute to each of his great predecessors in the See, Wiseman and Manning, he went on to plead, as though in mitigation of his own presence there, that it was unreasonable to suppose there would be no break in a succession of great leaders—it was inevitable that the turn of smaller men should come. "Perhaps it is not to be expected that there should be no break in the line of men of exceptional power and individuality, specially raised up by God to lead His Church in this country through a critical passage of her history. From time to time there will come a season of mediocrity, when the ordinary work of the Church must be carried on by instruments of the common and ordinary kind. Such a period is designed to develop the higher loyalty of men to the Church. For when less can be accomplished by the Captain alone, greater must be the generosity of the subordinates in putting forth all their resources."

But it was not in Herbert Vaughan's nature to be discouraged by a handicap or to be frightened by odds.

If he had some natural misgivings when he compared himself with those who had gone before him, there was another thought which at once restored his confidence and gave him all the strength he needed. How had he become Archbishop? Surely not by his own seeking or doing. All the several steps enjoined by the Church had been taken, and every rule observed, with the result that he had been elected. And that thought cast out fear. He had been chosen by the Holy See, and it was his business now to justify the choice in the eyes of all men. This feeling found expression in these words: "In such matters as the nomination to a share in the Apostolate God makes known His Divine will through the appointed channel of His Church. When the discipline and law of the Church have been faithfully served; when the clergy of the diocese and the Virgins consecrated to God, and the whole Catholic flock have persevered in prayer; and, finally, when the Vicar of Jesus Christ has deliberately made up his mind and declared that the lot has fallen on such an one—we may then believe with confidence that the great Prince of Shepherds has Himself made known His choice and His Will. The feeble human instrument thus elected becomes at once clothed with an official character, and his personality becomes merged and lost in his representative position. He becomes strong because his feet are planted upon a divine foundation, because his back is placed against the impregnable Rock. His course is made clear to him because he is under the patronage of Peter, the Fisherman of the world. As to what seas he shall traverse, and with what winds and weather, that is the affair of God. God will use him as an instrument according to His Will, if only he be not unfaithful."

There were undoubtedly times in the last years before his death when Cardinal Vaughan understood the bitterness of disappointment, when, sick and discouraged and despondent, and seeing so much to do and so little done, he would sometimes say, and with an air of sad conviction, to his intimate friends, "I know I have been a failure." But these were not the moods the world knew; and they were as remote as possible from the temper with which he came to Westminster, and which indeed sustained him during all the active part of his career as Archbishop. His one thought was to get the utmost out of each day, to crowd the greatest possible amount of work into the few years that were left. He was fond of saying, "We have all eternity to rest." And he knew that his task differed from the old one, and in kind. He was no longer a Lancashire Bishop, but Metropolitan. He was to address himself, not to his co-religionists in a provincial city, but to the people of England. As the thread runs through the beads there was one thought which governed and gave unity to Cardinal Vaughan's whole policy during his ten years in Westminster. He believed that beyond and above the duty he owed to his own flock, he had another to perform in the face of the English people—to bring to their knowledge, in the most public possible way, the claims of the Catholic Church upon their spiritual allegiance, and to familiarise them with the beauties of her liturgy, and to bring home to their hearts the meaning of her doctrines and her ritual. He brought to the task not only the high courage of his eager and energetic nature, but also a confidence which came of the thought that God had made known His Will in the appointed ways, had made him Archbishop and would not desert him.

But if Herbert Vaughan's entry into London and his enthronement as Archbishop-Elect had been strangely quiet and simple, as if he had wished to slip into his place unobserved, there was a ceremony still to come, which he was resolved should be as public a spectacle as possible. Before, as Archbishop, he could exercise any of the greater acts of jurisdiction it was necessary that he should receive the sacred Pallium from the Pope. He might have gone to Rome to receive it "from the bodies of the Apostles," as Manning had done and Wiseman, but he preferred to petition that it should be sent to him in London, and so provide an ecclesiastical pageant which should serve as an object-lesson, reminding the English people of certain vital truths in the story of their own past. His purpose was frankly controversial—as the representative of a Church that claims the allegiance of all he could not help being controversial—that was what he was for. He saw an opportunity of recalling the great and significant fact that for a thousand years English Archbishops had been accustomed either to journey to Rome to receive the Pallium from the Roman Pontiff himself or to accept it from the hands of his Legate at home, and in either case had reverenced it as the instrument of jurisdiction and the symbol of unity with, and obedience to, the Holy See.

The Pallium still figures in the official arms of the See of Canterbury, but to the people at large it had become a symbol without a meaning, and even educated men had ceased to be aware of the part it had played for so long in the ecclesiastical history of the country. In asking that the Pallium might be sent to him by an Apostolic Delegate the Archbishop had, of course, abundant precedent

in the past. Before the Norman Conquest it was the common custom for English Archbishops to go to Rome, but as early as 805, in the days of Egbert, a letter was addressed to the Pope "by all the Bishops and priests of the whole Island of Britain" begging that in future the Archbishop-Elect of Canterbury might be relieved of the long and dangerous journey to Rome and might instead receive his Pallium from a Papal Envoy in England. The favour was granted and was often repeated in later ages. The form used by the Archbishops of Canterbury before the time of the Reformation was as follows: "Your devoted daughter, Christ's Church of Canterbury, asks that the Pallium taken from the Body of Blessed Peter be granted to her Archbishop-Elect, so that he may have the fulness of his office, and for this she earnestly and urgently supplicates your Holiness." And the form by which the Pallium was bestowed ran: "We grant to thee the Pallium taken from Blessed Peter in which is the plenitude of the Pontifical office, with the name and title of Archbishop."

The last prelate to receive the Pallium in England before the investiture of Cardinal Vaughan had been Cardinal Pole. He had intended that the ceremony should take place in his own Cathedral of Canterbury, but for reasons that seemed sufficient to the Queen it was arranged that he should receive the Pallium in Bow Church. This was done on the 25th of March, 1556, and Pole was unexpectedly called upon to preach. From a contemporary letter we get an excellent account of his extemporary sermon. One passage may be cited here for the simple words in which it tells of the significance

of the Pallium he had just received. "So long ago as in the time of the early Church, when any one was consecrated an Archbishop, by which consecration a power was conferred of such a nature as to be supreme after Christ's Vicar on earth, yet it was not lawful to exercise such power until after having received the Pallium; which being taken from the body of St. Peter and placed on the Archbishop-Elect, merely signified that, as his power and authority proceeded from that body, so likewise in all his actions he was bound to render a corresponding obedience like that of members to their head. Thus, this ceremony; lest the Archbishops, having such great authority, detaching themselves from their head, might cause much turmoil and disorder in the Church, instead of acknowledging it as held neither of themselves nor of others, but solely of Christ's Vicar, who is the Roman Pontiff, so that by this regulation the unity of the Church might be preserved for ever. Thus, then, an Archbishop cannot exercise this power given to him by the act of consecration until he receives authority to do so by means of this Pallium, taken, as I have said, from the body of St. Peter and transmitted to him by Christ's Vicar."[1]

In Herbert Vaughan's case the Apostolic Delegate chosen to bring the Pallium was the Hon. and Right Rev Mgr. Stonor, Archbishop of Trebizond, and the solemn investiture took place on the 16th of August in the Church of the Oratory. The function was as solemn and impressive as care and thought could make it, and was attended with every circumstance of ceremonial splendour. It was performed in the presence of the whole

[1] Venetian State Papers, edited by Rawdon Brown.

English Hierarchy, the heads of the Religious Orders, and four hundred priests; while the body of the church was crowded to its utmost capacity by a great multitude of the faithful laity, including the representatives of the Catholic Powers and other members of the Diplomatic Corps, as well as a notable proportion of the Catholic nobility and gentry of the country. The sermon was worthy of the occasion, and was preached by Abbot Gasquet. It was so largely to give an opportunity for this address, for this appeal to the historical conscience of the nation, that the Archbishop had been anxious to receive the Pallium in London, rather than in Rome, that a salient passage from it may well be quoted here.

After speaking of the origin of the Pallium, the preacher went on to tell of its place in English history.

"The grant of the Pall, then, is the proof and token that Peter, to whom is committed Our Lord's Kingdom on earth, has imparted jurisdiction and power of ruling to the prelate upon whom is laid the burden of administering some portion of that Kingdom. For jurisdiction comes not with ordination or consecration to the episcopal office. This high dignity confers upon the Bishop no authority over the souls of others. The charge of some particular part of the flock must be given by a direct commission of the Chief Shepherd. So true is this, that even after consecration, or translation to a Metropolitan See, the Archbishop-Elect cannot exercise his highest functions until he is possessed of the sacred Pall. It is thus the title of his authority over others, and in every quarter of the globe is the sign and token of the universal bond which draws all hearts and souls to Rome, the

only centre of living unity, the only sure foundation and guardian of the Christian faith.

"From the coming of St. Augustine and the first establishment of the Church of the English no fact is more clearly marked in the history of our country than the intimate union which existed between the Church of this land and the Holy Apostolic See. When at St. Gregory's command Augustine is consecrated 'Archbishop of the English people,' this is performed by the Pope's Vicar, the Bishop of Arles, in which city, be it remembered, British Bishops three hundred years before had, by solemn synodical act, shown how they recognised the practical import of St. Peter's primacy among the Apostles.

"The ceremony of to-day carries back our thoughts to that month of June in the year 601, when, nearly thirteen hundred years ago, by the authority of Pope St. Gregory, the first hierarchy of English Bishops was established, and the 'Pallium of honour from the Holy and Apostolic See' was sent by the hands of Paulinus and Mellitus to Augustine as first Archbishop. It was from Rome that the jurisdiction came: 'We give you no authority over the Bishops of Gaul,' wrote Gregory to his new Vicar, when sending him the symbol of his power; 'but all the Bishops of Britain we commit to your charge, that the ignorant may be taught, the weak confirmed, the perverse corrected by authority.'

"And as we review the centuries of Saxon rule, and note how each occupant of St. Augustine's chair sends, or himself goes, to Rome for that sign of pre-eminence, first conferred on the Church of Canterbury, we recognise how to our English forefathers the Roman Pall ever was

the pledge and symbol of 'the Catholic faith, of unity, and of subjection to the Roman Church,' as writes St. Boniface, the English Apostle of the German people, to Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury. Even in the dark and stormy days of the tenth century, in spite of the dangers and hardships of a journey from England to Italy, almost every successor of St. Augustine, including St. Odo, St. Dunstan, and St. Elphege—those three glories of our English Church—made that weary pilgrimage, in order that he might bow his head before the Roman Pontiff, and at his command and concession take from the shrine of the Apostles this sacred sign of his jurisdiction. No difficulties could turn these sons of England from testifying their loyalty to the Holy See. Of one Bishop—Alfsin of Winchester—we read that, designated to succeed St. Odo on the throne of Canterbury, 'according to the custom (*more solito*), he set out to Rome to obtain his Pall;' but, as his saintly predecessor had in vision warned him, he was destined never to wear it, and he perished of the cold amid the snows of the Alpine passes before he set his foot in Italy.

"Let us pass quickly onward. From the Norman Conquest to the reign of Queen Mary seven-and-thirty Archbishops of Canterbury received the sacred wool as successors of St. Augustine and in token of their union with and subjection to Rome. To obtain it many, like their Saxon predecessors, journeyed to Italy; whilst to others it was sent, 'by reason of the perils and dangers of the road,' by the hand of the Papal delegates. And as they knelt before the altar to receive the token of their jurisdiction, most of the long line of prelates were sworn upon the Holy Gospels, 'from this hour forward to be

faithful and obedient to St. Peter, to the Holy Apostolic Roman Church, and to my Lord the Pope and his successors.' It was the profession of the Church of England by the mouth of its appointed head, and by this solemn act of men like Langton, Peckham and Courtenay, Arundel and Bouchier and Morton—men no less illustrious as churchmen than as champions of English greatness—was the Church of the land linked with the Church of Christ, and by the Apostolic yoke of the Pall was it bound to Rome, the centre of ecclesiastical unity."

After the Mass the Archbishop-Elect, coming to the front of the high altar, and taking off his mitre, knelt at the feet of the Papal Delegate, who sat on a faldstool in the centre of the sanctuary, with a book of the Gospels open on his knees. Then all present stood up as Archbishop Vaughan renewed once more on English soil the traditional act of homage of the English Church to the Apostolic See, ending with the words that give to the protestation the form of an oath, "So help me God and His holy Gospels." Then the Delegate, rising, took the Pallium from the altar and put it round the neck of the still kneeling Archbishop, as the sacred badge of his Metropolitan dignity and authority, and pronounced the formula of investiture. A few minutes later the old Canterbury ceremony of the kissing of the Pallium ("*osculentur Pallium cum reverentia*" [1]) was carried out, and the Archbishop, seated on the throne, presented the sacred stole to be kissed by the multitude of the clergy and faithful who defiled before him. Finally the new Archbishop, with all the "fulness of the Pontifical Office," rose and, with his Cross borne before him, blessed the people.

[1] Maskell, *Monumenta*, ii, p. 317.

That year, 1892, was crowded with events for Herbert Vaughan. In March he had been appointed Archbishop, in May he had been enthroned; in August he had received the Sacred Pallium, and in December he knew he was to take rank with the Princes of the Church as a Roman Cardinal. Cardinal Manning, after he was Archbishop, had waited ten years for the Red Hat; it came to Archbishop Vaughan in ten months, and so to the public the news was a surprise. Herbert Vaughan accepted the new dignity with his usual simplicity. It was a signal mark of the favour of the Holy See, and so a source of encouragement and strength, and therefore of gladness to him. It necessitated an immediate journey to Rome, where on January 19th, 1893, he received the Red Hat from the hands of Leo XIII, and was created a Cardinal, with the Presbyterial title of SS. Andrea and Gregorio on the Coelian. This had also been Cardinal Manning's titular church. It represented the very fountain source of English Christianity; it was the spot from which St. Augustine and his companions set out upon their mission to England.

Writing to Miss Hanmer, a month later, the Cardinal said: "It is the 21st. I have just returned from taking possession of San Gregorio. Tremendous crowd there; all went off well. The ceremony on Sunday was most moving, and I had hard work to keep the nervous system quiet. Men and women were overcome by emotion. It was the grandest sight I have ever witnessed. The work here is incessant, and I wonder how, without exercise, I keep as well as I do; but next week it will be quieter."

While he was still in Rome he learned that a move-

ment was on foot in England to present him with an address of welcome, and at the same time to offer him a personal testimonial. The first he was glad to receive, the second he peremptorily forbade—no money offering was to be thought of. The address was presented on his return to England on the 31st of March, 1893, and was in the name of both clergy and laity. After the Vicar-General, Mgr. Gilbert, and the Duke of Norfolk had spoken, the Cardinal rose to reply, and it is impossible not to note how easily his habitual thoughts betray themselves by the readiness with which they drop into the familiar phrases. Only a few months before, when taking leave of his people in Manchester on his appointment as Archbishop, he had used the simile of the chess-board, and noted how at the end of the game king and pawns are unceremoniously tumbled back into the same box by the same hand. Now again, as though half apologising for the dignity which, as it were, had been lent to him to bear for a few years, he used the same metaphor: "The individual who bears the honours, what is he? Simply one who for a little while plays the part assigned to him by his Maker upon the stage of this life. He has neither made himself, nor placed himself where he is found to-day. See the men on the chess-board, &c." Then turning to the future: "Two words seem to me to sum up the programme which is before us—*Amare et Servire.* Love must be the root out of which service must spring up. Without love, Service demanding care and self-sacrifice will never endure. As it is said, '*Ubi amatur non laboratur, aut si laboratur labor amatur.*'"

That thought was often with Cardinal Vaughan during all the years he was at Westminster. His special effort

in his own spiritual life was to make Love and Service go hand in hand, and so to school his thoughts and affections that, even when most resolutely following along the narrow path of duty, he should be able to do so, as it were, at the bidding and beckoning of his own heart. George Eliot says somewhere that the finest of all human possibilities is when a strong personal love is blended in one current with a larger duty. Cardinal Vaughan may not have been familiar with these lines, but he would certainly have held "that the finest of all human possibilities" was when a man seeing his highest duty found his chief gladness in doing it; the resultant satisfaction might count for little, but from such a union was most likely to spring the perfect and enduring work.

During the course of the next few years it was the Cardinal's lot to receive many addresses of congratulation and thanks and welcome. It may be safely said none gave him more genuine pleasure than the letter addressed to him by the General of the Jesuits towards the end of 1894, on the occasion of the founding of their new College at Stamford Hill. It had been the Cardinal's fortune to be in controversy with the Society of Jesus, but no one ever set a higher value on their services or was more anxious for their co-operation. One of his first acts on coming to Westminster had been to invite the Jesuits to take a part in the work of higher education in the diocese by opening a secondary school. The offer was met as generously as it was made; and the following letter from Fr. Ludovicus Martin, the General of the Order, shows how completely the old antagonists had sunk their differences in the service of a common cause. After a

reference to the opening of a College at Stamford Hill and to the Cardinal's conduct in inviting their help in the work of education in the Archdiocese, the General of the Jesuits went on to make a more general acknowledgment :—

"At the same time I wish to thank you most sincerely, in my own name and in the name of the whole Society, for the numerous marks of benevolence which it has received at your hands ; for your earnest and considerate efforts to protect its good name ; for the generous encouragement which you have given our labours in your diocese and elsewhere ; for your repeated acts of kindness which you have shown both to the Society at large and to its individual members in particular ; for the great favour which you have conferred on it by honouring Stonyhurst College with your presence at the time of its centenary celebration ; and, above all, for the touching sentiments to which you gave utterance on that occasion. Those sentiments, rest assured, have found an echo in the hearts of the sons of St. Ignatius, not only in England, but the world over. I need not tell you what warm response they have awakened in those especially who are more immediately under your patronage and jurisdiction. Suffice it to say that their letters to me bear constant witness to their devotedness to your person and that their highest ambition is to place themselves at your service and to co-operate, to the best of their abilities, with your zealous endeavours for the diffusion of the faith and of sound Christian principles in a country endeared to our Society by many hallowed memories and happy in the enjoyment of religious freedom, now so little known and understood in other lands. Allow me, in conclusion, to lay at the feet of your Eminence the homage of the entire Society of Jesus. Believe me, we shall always deem it a duty and a pleasure to defer to your wishes and to second your undertakings ; and our earnest prayer shall be that you may be long preserved in health and strength to

carry out every noble purpose which you have set yourself for the advancement of religion and the *greater glory of God.*

"Asking your blessing for myself and for the Society

"Believe me,

"Your Eminence's humble and most devoted servant,

"LUDOVICUS MARTIN."

When Herbert Vaughan entered a room or stood upon a public platform in his Cardinal's robes he was always a striking and imposing figure. His natural stateliness of manner and bearing, however, was sometimes misunderstood, and there were many among those who never had an opportunity of being intimate with him who thought him hard and cold and unapproachable, and generally too magnificent, to sympathise with the troubles and difficulties of ordinary people. That there was a fibre of hardness in the Cardinal's character need not be denied, but very certainly there was also an infinite tenderness. And perhaps this chapter of his biography which tells of his first appearance as Prince of the Church may fitly conclude with a few pages of the spiritual diary in which at long intervals he used to write down his resolutions for the future; they are pages which seem to lift the veil for a moment and enable us to see, not the "haughty prelate," but the very human heart of the man:—

"*August 1st.*—Every great interior grace produces generosity, sympathy, and love of souls. My grace of continual prayer when alone, and when silent in the midst of company, at dinner, &c., ought to produce this gentleness, sympathy, and love of souls. Hitherto I have often behaved decently to bores, &c., through the thought of the

Herbert Cardinal Vaughan.

AGED 61.

bad effect roughness produces; a human unworthy motive indeed. In future the love of Jesus Christ, the example of my Mother, must be the sole motive. Gentleness and sympathy, these shall be the instruments wherewith to beat down self-love. What a brute am I that the practice of these two tokens of love should mean self-sacrifice and self-denial instead of being the spontaneous outcome of charity! Never mind—we are going to improve. He cannot possibly refuse to hear the prayer which He has made continual—the desire that grows stronger day by day. '*Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde.*' This is the old lesson often spoken to me before and now spoken again with renewed force and persuasiveness. Herein is (1) surrender of self; (2) annihilation of the 'I'; (3) destruction of self-love. How cheap and sweet a way to reach the attainment of those terrible aims! What an easy way to Divine Union! If Jesus Christ comes to me by meekness and humility there is the union accomplished. What is there to urge this on? Love; and where is the love to be found? In the Precious Blood; bathing, washing in It, pouring It into the vessel of my soul. I have been many years hearing this lesson, and now only I understand it in a vivid and practical manner. *Meekness with self*—gently forcing my sloth and weariness into continuous action; *meekness with self* which will not permit despondency at feeling my own shortcomings and want of power; *meekness* under the sense of fatigue and worn-out feelings. *Meekness* with others: priests, poor, and every one, in words, in manner, in conduct, and deeds. *Meekness towards God's providence*—as shown in the circumstances around me, in the trials and sufferings He may send or permit, in the spiritual action of God on my soul.

And all this is to be coupled with humility—humility deeper than hitherto—constant digging down for deep foundations. '*Et invenietis requiem animabus vestris.*' It is very good of Our Lord to promise rest of soul if I am meek and humble, but I would learn of Him to practise these virtues, were there to be no such reward. To please Him would be infinite recompense. What greater privilege could any one possess than the certainty of being able to please Him? Here, then, I have these truths for my standard of life.

"1. '*Ignem veni mittere in terram et quid volo,*' &c. I must be ever kindling and then spreading the fire of divine love and zeal for souls. Herein I am '*alter Christus.*'

"2. This I must do while learning to be meek, gentle, and humble of heart—in other words, I must thus place Christ within my own soul. I must make room for Him there by causing a displacement of, a destruction of, an annihilation of my human self-love, of my human *Ego.*

"3. Continual prayer for light and strength will accomplish all this. '*Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.*' '*Sine me nihil potestis facere.*'"

"*August 28th.* Meekness. To-day N. called after absence on business. I might have congratulated him, encouraged him, sent him away quite happy and full of spirit, but I said nothing of the kind. I kept him waiting, saw him, refused his request without expressing regret, and probably let him see that I was treating him as one to be got rid of, and so we parted. . . . A tradesman in a shop said, 'What a beautiful day it has been!' My curt reply was, 'Has it been a good day for

you?' thinking it had not. I had a grave and forbidding countenance most of the day. At prayers to-night very dry; asked God to speak to me. And after awhile I saw clearly what an unchristian beast I had been to-day I saw that N. had been a splendid opportunity and that I had lost it altogether. I saw that I might have cheered the tradesman, that I might have been Our Lord to him—I had not been a Christian, or even a human being, to him. Thank God for showing me this so clearly. A distinct light such as this will set me on the right track to-morrow. One can represent Our Lord and bestow kindness and charity—

"1. By a smile, by a bright and sympathetic countenance. This can be bestowed on servants and every one where no words need be uttered. To do so when low and out of humour will be a splendid exercise in the practice of killing my *self-love*—the thing I am asking for perhaps a hundred times a day.

"2. By thinking what pleasant and encouraging thing I can say to So-and-so who has just come to interrupt me, and saying it.

"3. By avoiding any sarcastic remark, any cold and chilling reception of another's remark, any morose sign of displeasure or ill-humour. Now we'll begin again, and thanks to God for all His mercies."

Something of the true inwardness of the Cardinal's life and its essential unworldliness comes out in the following curious memorandum as to the comparative advantages and disadvantages of dining out. It is undated, but was clearly written soon after he came to Westminster and apparently while he was on a visit at Arundel Castle:—

"*Reasons for and against my Dining out in London.*

"*For.*—1. Time to remove certain anti-Catholic prejudices.

"2. Sometimes an opportunity to do some positive good—but this not often.

"3. Opportunity to make acquaintance with public men and with persons exercising influence. This is a very practical and positive advantage. My office and work needs such acquaintances and their goodwill.

"4. Example of Our Lord, who during His public life left us an example of this kind.

"5. Possessing but very few gifts, I ought to utilise such as I have for God's service—*e.g.*, a certain manner and presence that, rendering me acceptable in general society, help to conciliate the goodwill of non-Catholics towards me and the religion I represent.

"6. Having undertaken to work upon public opinion and to mix with men—is not this one of the most important ways of carrying this out?

"7. I do not find that dining out dissipates my mind or exercises any sinister influence over me. I cannot, therefore, say that it is a temptation or a danger which I should shun.

"8. To accept an invitation may sometimes be a real act of charity. It may be my only way of repaying a person for great service or charity to the Church—it may be a highly esteemed commendation of them, &c., &c.

"9. There are people in great position, *e.g.*, a Minister, an Ambassador, a Royal personage, a great traveller, or man of science, whose goodwill it is important to obtain. I am asked to a quiet dinner to meet them. If I refuse I shall have no other opportunity of effecting the good

that seemed to be placed within my reach by the designs of Providence. Is it right and reasonable in me to lay down a rule for Providence, viz., that God may not invite me to influence any one between the hours of 8 and 11 p.m. over a dinner-table? Am I to lay it down that a dinner-table is so opposed to the life I ought to lead, and is of such bad example, that I must conclude that God will never lead me, or desire me to do work for Him in this way? If yes—then ought He not to have made me a monk, and given me a rule which forbids such dining out? If on the contrary He has left me free, is it not in order that I should use this freedom, wisely and rarely, according to what may appear to be His Will?

"10. As to my occupations during these dinners, *i.e.*, in times of silence during dinner, and after—as also in driving to and fro—the whole of such time is taken up in aspirations, or in thoughts about God, or souls, or in acts of Divine Love. This seems to show that there is no great danger or attraction for me in these parties—the worst is some sensuality in eating and drinking from time to time, but this does not go very far and is not habitual.

"*Against.*—1. Our Lord's example was evidently rare and exceptional—was certainly not an affair of even once a week.

"2. The Vicars of Christ never dine out.

"3. St. Charles Borromeo gave dinners indeed, and on certain occasions attended public dinners—but he never ate at them himself.

"4. Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda, strongly dissuaded the clergy from dining out. Those Cardinals and Bishops who have a character for greater sanctity and for greater zeal in their work rarely dine out.

"5. The laity, especially non-Catholics, who delight in dining out will certainly attribute my habit of dining out to the same motives of pleasure, or of worldliness, which animate them. Such an example is not, therefore, a good one to set before them.

"6. My example will be followed by those of my clergy who may have a taste for society. Some will see a special reason for the Archbishop dining out, but more will see a taste for pleasure indulged, and an example given to them to do likewise. My conduct will influence many beyond my own diocese—and beyond the period of my own lifetime, which will soon close. When I went out to dinner in Rome, during Lent, one of the students said playfully, 'The Cardinal has written a little book on the sanctification of Lent, and I intend to get it and follow his example.'

"7. Perhaps a better impression (religious impression will be made on the public mind by its being known that the Cardinal does not dine out, than that he is an amiable and agreeable guest wherever he goes.

"8. Health will be promoted—and so far work—by avoiding these dinners and their late hours.

"9. There is no doubt in my own mind but that a considerable part of the three or four hours covered by these dinners and receptions would be otherwise spent by me in prayer, spiritual reading, and work belonging to my office, and also in bed. I should probably become more spiritually-minded and therefore able to exercise a more spiritual influence in what I say, write, and do, than if I gave myself to the kind of apostolate which I might exercise in dining out.

"I incline to the following conclusions :—

"1. Erase the rule that twice a week I am free to dine out.

"2. Refuse all ordinary invitations.

"3. Reserve the right to accept certain invitations, whether of Catholics or Protestants, for exceptional reasons, each to be judged on its own merits.

"4. Accept certain public dinners—but not all of them—but a sufficient number to keep in touch with such public men as one meets at such dinners. Comparatively few politicians of mark go to the Hospital and Charity dinners.

"N.B.—Number 3 is a very elastic clause and will need watching."

It makes one feel guilty of eavesdropping to read words so intimate—words intended by the writer to meet no eye but his own. And yet surely they lay bare for us the true spirit of the man, and show us what it is very good for us to see, and what, therefore, very certainly, he would now wish us to see! Possibly some hostess who thought Cardinal Vaughan *distrait*, or preoccupied, or dull, may think more kindly of his memory when she learns how the pauses in the talk of the dinner-table were filled.

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CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATION OF THE PRIEST

ALL his life Cardinal Vaughan was intensely interested in everything which concerned the education and training of the clergy. It was a subject that had filled his thoughts while still a student in Rome. He was no sooner ordained than he set off to make a journey of inspection and inquiry among the great ecclesiastical seminaries of the Continent. On his return to England it was his primary work as Vice-President of St. Edmund's, Old Hall, one of the three ecclesiastical seminaries which then sufficed for the whole of England. When he was Bishop of Salford, amid all the cares of a busy life he never lost sight of, or allowed his interest to diminish in, this supreme question, and he found time to set forth his matured views in an elaborate essay which he published as a preface to the *Life of the Blessed John Baptist de Rossi* in 1882. And his love of this theme lasted till the end. When the poor, tired, cramped fingers could hardly hold a pen he was still painfully working on a book which as an unfinished treatise was published after his death under the title of *The Young Priest.*

The first thing, then, which naturally challenged his attention on his arrival at Westminster was the condition of the Diocesan Seminary. But to understand the nature

of the problem which presented itself to him it is necessary to glance back briefly to the past.

The seminary system, as it now exists throughout the Catholic world, owes its origin to an Englishman. When Cardinal Pole came over to this country in 1556, as the representative of the Holy See to bring about the public reconciliation between England and Rome, he issued a carefully drawn-up set of instructions for the training and education of the candidates for the priesthood (*Decretum XI Pro Reformatione Angliae*). In this document the word "seminary" appears to have been used for the first time to signify a school for the training of ecclesiastical students. Both the word "seminarium" and, in general, the rules drafted by Cardinal Pole commended themselves to the Council then sitting at Trent, and so a few years later were adopted for use throughout Catholic Christendom.

The Council of Trent required each Bishop to provide his own diocesan seminary—with a proviso that poor dioceses might combine their resources. This diocesan seminary was intended to be under the eye of the Bishop and confined to ecclesiastical students. "*In hoc collegio recipiantur . . . quorum indoles et voluntas spem afferant eos ecclesiasticis ministeriis perpetuo inservituros.*" The note of separation runs through the whole decree. The ecclesiastical students are to be set apart not only when they come to study Philosophy and Divinity, but from the beginning—while they are studying the Humanities. The age was "*ad minimum duodecim annos.*" In other words, from the age of twelve or fourteen to twenty-four the ecclesiastical student was to be educated in the diocesan seminary apart from all contact with laymen. At the

same time the Council recognised divisions within the seminary—there was to be the *seminarium puerorum* and the senior section, consisting of the students in Philosophy and Theology. Both sections were necessary to the Tridentine seminary ; they were parts of one whole ; but whether they were both housed within one building was a matter simply of convenience. Whether brought together under one roof or not, the two sections formed part of one diocesan institution, and, in any case, practical necessities required the more or less complete segregation of boys from men, of boys studying the Humanities from young men devoting themselves to Philosophy and Theology. And here it may be noted that the modern French system, consisting of the *grand* and *petit séminaire*, is to this extent a departure from the ideals of Trent, that the *petits séminaires* are usually secondary schools frequented indiscriminately by lay and clerical students.

Until within a very few years of Herbert Vaughan's coming to Westminster no seminary *ad mentem Concilii Tridentini* had ever existed in England, or been thought of. When, after the days of Cardinal Pole, the whole Catholic system had been swept out of England in a storm of blood and flame, for centuries no thought of educating English priests in this country could be entertained. The great ecclesiastical school at Douai sufficed as a central seminary for England for some three hundred years, and how well it did its work the record of its long line of martyrs is there to tell. In some respects the fact that Douai was situated abroad simplified matters. No one English prelate was likely to expect to exercise any greater authority over it than another. It was outside

English jurisdiction, and in fact the English Vicars-Apostolic had no direct share in its arrangements. It was a "Pontifical College" subject immediately to the Holy See. The President was nominated by Rome, and he was supreme in everything that regarded the conduct of the College. So satisfied were the English Vicars-Apostolic with the great work that Douai had done for them, that when the College was broken up during the Revolution and the students forced to disperse, it was proposed to make a new foundation in England on the same lines, but subject in some measure to the control of the Bishops. The constitution of the proposed college was actually drawn up, but the scheme came to nothing, owing chiefly to the rival claims of North and South for the site of the proposed foundation. In the end three Colleges were established—Old Hall, for the London district; Crook Hall, afterwards transferred to Ushaw, for the Northern district; and at a later period Oscott, for the Midlands. None of the three was a seminary in the sense of the Council of Trent. All took in lay students, who mixed freely in the class-rooms and the playing-fields with those who were destined for the priesthood.

This system lasted for over half a century, but in 1852, largely at the instance of the first Bishop of Southwark, the English Bishops, assembled at the first Provincial Council of Westminster, held up the separate education of ecclesiastical students as the ideal to be aimed at. "*Summopere religionis augmento profuturum putamus, si seminaria in quibus seorsim educarentur clerici, possent fundari.*" Nothing was said about the establishment of diocesan seminaries, and no steps were taken to remove the lay boys from the three existing

colleges. It would have been a very difficult thing to do, as they all depended, in a greater or less degree, upon the fees paid by the parents of the lay students. The Second Provincial Council had no reference to the subject, but the Third Council, which met at Oscott in 1859, definitely committed the whole Hierarchy to an active policy leading to the gradual establishment of a seminary in every diocese. The following words were decisive, and accurately reflect the strong views which Cardinal Manning always entertained on this subject: "*Unusquisque episcoporum sibi proponit omni industria ac toto corde dehinc huic studio incumbere quo meliore poterit modo, seminarium in propria dioecesi instituendi.*" At the Fourth Council, held at Old Hall, the Bishops renewed their undertaking, but in doing so noted the provision in the Council of Trent which allowed poor dioceses to combine to found a common seminary.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Manning had led the way and established a separate seminary for the diocese of Westminster. Some land at Hammersmith, belonging to the diocese and hitherto occupied by a Benedictine convent and a large house, was utilised for the purpose, and in July the ecclesiastical students of the diocese, who were studying theology, were removed from St. Edmund's. The buildings were inadequate and unsuitable, but they sufficed for some years. It was not until the spring of 1876 that Cardinal Manning issued an appeal to his flock for funds to enable him to erect a new building on the old site. He describes the work as of all others the most urgently needed for the future welfare and full development of the spiritual life of the diocese of Westminster. "If I can leave behind me a solid, simple, and adequate

building for the Higher or Greater Seminary of the diocese of Westminster I shall feel that the work of my life is done." The appeal was very successful, and the large sum collected enabled a permanent Seminary to be built, which in due course was opened and dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. It may be asked why, instead of bringing his theological students to a new seminary in Hammersmith, it did not occur to Cardinal Manning simply to send away the lay boys from Old Hall. Then he would have had at once a true seminary *ad mentem Concilii Tridentini*, a seminary in which the aspirants to the priesthood would live apart from the age of twelve or fourteen to twenty-four, and so learn their Humanities, Philosophy, and Theology without coming into contact with lay students. If that alternative was considered it was put aside, partly, no doubt, on account of the difficulty of supporting a college without the help of the payments made by the lay boys, but mainly because Cardinal Manning felt that the theological seminary of the diocese ought to be under the eye of the Bishop. He thought it a great advantage also that the students should be asked to take part in the services at the Pro-Cathedral in Kensington.

No more striking testimony to Manning's personal ascendancy in the counsels of the English Hierarchy at that time could well be imagined than that which is supplied by his success in securing the adoption of his policy in regard to these diocesan seminaries. It involved an enormous expenditure in bricks and mortar, and endless difficulties in providing suitable or tolerable professors for so many institutions. Not the less the new Westminster Seminary was quickly followed by others

for Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Nottingham and Northampton, and finally for Southwark.

A policy of this sort is very difficult to reverse even when it is regretted, and in spite of admitted failures Cardinal Manning's policy has always found, and still finds, zealous defenders. Let it be described in the words of a sympathiser and friend. Writing in the *Month* shortly after Manning's death, Father John Morris, S.J., used these words:—

"Two different systems were open to him to pursue. One plan would have been to have had one large ecclesiastical seminary for the North and another for the South of England, resembling in each case the old and venerable College of Douai. It could have had the best president and staff, the best professors, the best spiritual father, or dean, the best procurator that many dioceses in combination could have supplied. The position of all these, the living stones of the seminary, could have been made so dignified and so desirable that the case would have been rare when any one would have wished to leave the seminary for the mission. The students of each year would have been numerous, and while the teaching would have been of the highest order, there would have been emulation as in large schools and a powerful public opinion in favour of study. The money spent in building local seminaries and in maintaining a staff for each would have been expended upon a large number of Church students, and so the product might have been better both in quantity and in quality. But this was not the Cardinal's choice; and though a plan like this would seem to promise a more abundant and better harvest for the present it would have been a worse provision for the future. First of all it would have been very difficult of realisation. There would have been no Government grant to build and endow such a college as was built at Maynooth by a Parliamentary vote. All the money now spent could not have been put by for burses. All the Bishops would

have had to contribute the funds for the erection of a vast seminary *in alieno solo*, and they would have had to contribute their share of the maintenance of the permanent staff. Management by a number of Bishops who would have met but rarely might easily have had its difficulties; and though such a joint seminary in the days of our poverty and our fewness would have been in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent, which says that poor and weaker dioceses are to combine, yet the time would have soon come when the undoubtedly preferable plan of a thoroughly efficient seminary in each diocese under the Bishop's own eye would have become evidently necessary. And then what would have been the destiny of the large central college, and how would it have been possible to take from it the money each diocese had contributed towards the bricks and mortar that pay no interest and could not be sold piecemeal? No; tempting as the other plan certainly is to contemplate, Cardinal Manning showed his usual wisdom in preferring with a smaller present benefit a plan more permanent in its character, where the outlay of the present is an investment for the future."

Among the Bishops who could never be induced to embark upon the enterprise of a separate diocesan seminary was Herbert Vaughan.

We have seen that in the early days at Salford he established what he called a Pastoral Seminary, but it had nothing to do with the ideals of Trent. It was simply a house in which the Bishop sought to gather around him his newly ordained priests so that they might live with him for a year, revealing their capacity and characters, and being initiated in the life of the priest on the mission. As time went by he came to wonder whether after all the whole policy of separate diocesan seminaries was not a futile waste of men and money, made possible only by a disastrous misinterpretation of the decrees of Trent. Long before he left Salford he had arrived at the conclusion that

no diocese in England came within the rules which made it obligatory to establish a separate seminary. He had satisfied himself that the dioceses contemplated by the Council of Trent were such as are to be found in Catholic countries, where the diocesan clergy may number five hundred or a thousand, and the laity represent a large part of the material resources of the district. Writing in 1882, when ten of his twenty years at Salford had run, he said expressly, in reference to the better education of the clergy[1]: "Proficiency will not come by multiplying theological seminaries, but rather by increasing the number of their students, raising the standard of their studies, and prolonging their years of culture and training." The only question for him, therefore, in 1892 was whether the effective teaching and training of men was most likely to be secured by a concentration, or a scattering, of resources, by trying to gather the best professors into one or two great centres, or by trying to provide an adequate staff for half a dozen, or half a score, of little diocesan institutions.

Apart, however, from the general question of policy, there were special difficulties militating against the success of St. Thomas' Seminary. When Cardinal Manning first established it, Hammersmith was still a sort of garden suburb. The coming of the District Railway transformed the whole neighbourhood and made it a part of London, and so very unsuited for the training of a number of young ecclesiastical students. Then, too, the very success which attended Manning's efforts to get the other Bishops to adopt his policy as their own was fatal to St. Thomas'. The new buildings had provided accommodation for the

[1] Preface to the *Life of St. John Baptist de Rossi* (Burns and Oates).

theological students, not only of Westminster, but also of Southwark and Portsmouth, then one diocese. But then Southwark began to form its own diocesan seminary, and it was known would soon send no more students to St. Thomas'. Those left there would be overhoused, and the rates would become a disproportionate expense. Herbert Vaughan's frequent visits to Archbishop's House during the last years of Cardinal Manning's life gave him abundant opportunity of forming his own conclusions as to the position of affairs. Before he arrived in London as Archbishop he had made up his mind that if he could win the consent of his Chapter the Seminary should be closed, and at once and without more ado.

It was a decision which needed some courage. Some thousands of pounds had been collected from the Catholic public in faith of the statement that the decrees of Trent made such a seminary a diocesan necessity. It had been associated with the best years of Manning's life and was known to have represented some of his dearest hopes, and on more than one occasion had been publicly referred to as the permanent monument of his rule at Westminster. Herbert Vaughan had small regard at any time for what he would have dismissed as sentimental reasons. He had convinced himself that the Seminary at Hammersmith had become a mistake and a burden, and to abolish it presented itself as a line of action to which there was simply no alternative. He was enthroned at Westminster on the 14th of May, and on the 29th of December in the same year St. Thomas' Seminary was sold. The shock to public feeling was softened by the fact that the lands and buildings remained in Catholic hands.

Benedictine nuns had been there before the Seminary was built, and the site is now occupied by a secondary school conducted by the Sacred Heart nuns. Fortunately the price given by the new purchasers was almost enough to recoup the diocese for the money that had been expended in building the Seminary.

Herbert Vaughan had at this time another thing in his mind than the simple closing of St. Thomas'. He never at any time contemplated such a visible reversal of Manning's policy as would have been the sending of the Westminster students back to Old Hall, whence they had migrated twenty-five years before. He felt that in any case his own prospects of life were too uncertain to justify an attempt to build up a school of philosophy and theology at St. Edmund's. He wanted, rather, an immediate amalgamation with some existing seminary as "a going concern." His thoughts turned for a moment to Wonersh, in the neighbouring diocese, but he soon learned that no such proposal would be entertained by Bishop Butt, who meant that his Seminary should remain a seminary strictly *ad mentem Concilii Tridentini.* It was then that Cardinal Vaughan determined on a change of a bolder and more drastic sort. He resolved to try at once to unite the resources of a whole group of dioceses for the support of a common Central Seminary at Oscott.

In Father Morris's defence of the system of separate diocesan seminaries he gave a prominent place to the difficulties and cost of acquiring a building suitable for a central seminary. Cardinal Vaughan knew that difficulty need not be considered. St. Mary's College, Oscott, so hallowed with memories, intimately associated

with the most strenuous years of Cardinal Wiseman's life, the scene of Newman's sermon on the "Second Spring," and of the first three Councils of Westminster, was ready, and waiting, with its ample grounds and its beautiful and spacious courts. Three years before it had ceased to be a lay school, and instead had become the ecclesiastical seminary of the diocese of Birmingham. It was now Cardinal Vaughan's hope that by arrangement with the Bishop of the diocese Oscott might become a central seminary for half a dozen dioceses in the South and West, to be supported by all their resources in men and money.

In speaking of the hopes which led Cardinal Vaughan to undertake this task of trying to establish a single seminary for the greater part of Southern England, I can speak with first-hand authority. I had many opportunities of discussing the whole question exhaustively with him, and at his request wrote for him the article in which his scheme was first made public, and which announced that the Westminster students were to find their permanent home at Oscott. As the article was read and approved by the Cardinal before it was published, it may be taken as an accurate presentment of his views at the time. After a short reference to the sale of St. Thomas', the article continued:—

"The only question is whether the plan ordered by the Council of Trent is of present obligation in England, and whether the great practical inconveniences which its strict enforcement in England would involve do not bring a poor and missionary country within the scope of those exceptions which the Council foresaw and provided for. It will assist us in determining the merits of the case to

recall some of the details of the Trent Decrees on the subject. After a preamble, in which the inevitable temptations which beset youth are referred to, the Council ordains that 'all Cathedral, Metropolitan, and other churches greater than these, shall be bound, each according to the measure of its means and the extent of the diocese (*pro modo facultatum et dioecesis amplitudine*) to maintain, to educate religiously, and to instruct in ecclesiastical discipline, a certain number of youths of their city and diocese—or, if that number cannot there be found, of their province—in a college to be chosen by the Bishop for this purpose.' This passage may be taken to represent the mind of the Church as regards the ordinary and normal manner of providing for the education of ecclesiastical students; but a careful perusal of the clauses which follow will serve to show that the Fathers of Trent were contemplating a state of things which does not exist in this country. Thus elaborate provision is made to defray the cost, not only of the building of the seminaries, but of their maintenance, and for the support of the professors. But the money is directed to be drawn from sources which have no existence in England. Contributions are to be levied upon revenues of which Catholic England has little knowledge. Where among us are the benefices and the prebends and the founded chairs of theology referred to in the Trent Decrees? The Council supposed and legislated for a state of things which with us has no existence. Then if we ask ourselves what is accidental, what is essential in the Decrees of Trent, whether the important thing was that each diocese should have a separate seminary of its own, or that the young divines should have the advantages of a thoroughly equipped and manned and endowed institution, we shall hardly have to hesitate about the answer. Indeed, there are conditions of poverty and inefficiency of resources which might suggest that the establishment of a diocesan seminary was not in conformity with, but rather in violation of, the spirit of the Decrees. The legislation of the Council was expressly intended to prevent the creation of seminaries made unfit for the purpose by reason of their want of resources. The

Council then expressly recommends central seminaries for poor dioceses.

"And further, we must not lose sight of the fact that what we call seminaries by no means represent the seminaries for which the Council was legislating. The seminary of the Council started with the Humanities. The Fathers of Trent directed the Bishops to establish what we should call colleges for Church students. It might, therefore, be very plausibly argued that if our existing colleges are in harmony with the mind of the Council as far as Church students in the Humanities are concerned, they would not offend against it in the matter of Philosophy and Theology. In any case, it is sure that seminaries designed exclusively for instruction in Theology and Philosophy do not satisfy the requirements of the Council. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that it is idle to cite the Decrees of Trent without at the same time making a large allowance for local conditions and circumstances, which may be of a kind to make important modifications necessary.

"We are on less disputable grounds when we turn to consider the advantages which a concentration of labour and resources into one or two central seminaries would offer. As Catholicism is conditioned in modern England, it is inevitable that if the ideal state of things contemplated by the Council of Trent were allowed to prevail, and a separate seminary were established for each of the dioceses, these institutions would in many respects be crippled and dwarfed and starved, both as regards human subjects and teaching resources. Even with our present very partial approach to the system looked for by the Council, is it possible to say that the position of a professor of Theology carries with it the honour and distinction which ought to attach to it, or that its attainment is commonly the object of a legitimate ambition on the part of the clergy, as it would be if its proper possibilities of usefulness were attached to it? It will be conceded on all hands that the intellectual requirements of the priesthood are incomparably greater now than they were in the time of the Council of Trent, and it is further not disputed that the ideal thing for a Catholic land would be for each

Bishop to have a separate diocesan seminary with an efficient theological school, a full staff of properly qualified professors, and a sufficient and permanent endowment for all expenses. But are such things possible to a struggling and missionary Church? It is matter of common knowledge that our dioceses are small and poor. Consequently there is danger that the handful of students in the diocesan seminary may miss the advantages of emulation, and the eager contact of mind with mind, and the life and vigour which are born of numbers, and cannot flourish among isolated students.

"Again, the multiplication of teaching centres adds enormously to the difficulty of securing really qualified teachers, and makes it absolutely impossible that all should share in the services of the best. Consider what a rare combination of moral and mental qualities is needed to make a first-rate professor—not knowledge only, but a genius for imparting it. What a grievous waste of gifts and opportunities it is when a really good professor has to teach only half a dozen students, and those perhaps not all in one class, and then, instead of concentrating his energies upon the one or two subjects of his choice, has to teach as many as he has pupils. The pity is double—for the waste at one centre and the want at others. Financially the result of the separate diocesan system is, of course, almost intolerable, and leads to a multiplication of poor salaries given to men some of whom must necessarily be inferior. The disadvantages of separate buildings and a consequent multiplication of rates and taxes need not be pointed out, for they stare us in the face. But the statement of the case would be incomplete if it failed to include some reference to the subject of the multiplication of libraries. That in itself might be a good; but is there any reason to suppose that when financial difficulties are so pressing and always present, the libraries of the separate seminaries are all adequately supplied, either with standard works or with the publications of the day? It would be an interesting inquiry, for example, to ascertain how many of our existing diocesan seminaries have such a book as Migne's *Patrology*, though many would consider it indispensable to the equipment of a real theologian.

"We have dealt with the question only in a very general way, but we have probably said enough to satisfy our readers that if any action is taken by the Bishops in the direction of a further concentration of teaching power in the education of divines, it will have grave reasons in its favour. If the difficulties which undoubtedly lie in the path could be overcome, and events should so shape themselves as to secure for England or for Southern England a central school for the clergy, we might reasonably expect some new sense of fellowship and community of feeling among priests separated by distance and poverty. Centralisation in education has its own defects, but it binds with the bonds of friendship and intimate knowledge, and, sometimes, with that austere love which comes only to men who have laboured in a common cause."

But the old system was not without its defenders, and the *Tablet* readily lent the hospitality of its columns to a reply which took the form of two articles headed "*Audi Alteram Partem*," in which everything to be said in favour of what may be described as a modification of the policy inaugurated by Cardinal Manning was urged with great force and persuasiveness. Perhaps at this distance of time it is no indiscretion to state that the writer of them was the present Archbishop of Westminster. In one respect, perhaps they were written under a misapprehension—under the idea that Cardinal Vaughan had it in his mind to bring pressure amounting to coercion upon other Bishops to send students to Oscott. In fact, however he might seek to persuade, he would have at any time admitted that each Bishop must be left to judge of the circumstances of his own diocese, and that some had already burnt their boats and had gone too far to recede. Nothing was further from his mind than to say dogmatically of this or that diocese that it was not strong

enough to support its own seminary. What he did hope was that the example of Westminster would encourage every Bishop to feel that he was at least free to approach the question with an open mind, and decide for himself according to circumstances without the hampering thought that it had been decided for him three hundred years ago by the Decrees of Trent. The Cardinal read the articles "*Audi Alteram Partem*" with great care and attention, and then sat down to annotate them with a view to a reply. I had more than one interview with him on the subject, and each time he insisted that the main objection to the old system was the great difficulty of finding a sufficient number of thoroughly qualified professors. The following passage in the article which appeared in his own newspaper of March 25th may be taken as accurately representing his mind :—

"Are our dioceses so developed and endowed and in such stable order that they can equip and man with the proper teaching power each a separate seminary for its own need? Are we so rich in first-rate professors, men, not only of learning, but with a genius for imparting it, that we can afford to scatter them over half a dozen different centres? and are the young divines so numerous that with true economy of power we can afford to limit the audience of a really good professor to those of a single diocese? and are our theological libraries so ample and richly stocked and so evenly distributed that we can count upon a really adequate collection of books for every diocese? Upon the answers to these and the whole group of kindred questions arrayed in our first article it would seem that a wise decision must depend. There is no need to shout the thing from the house-tops or even to insist upon a reply in these columns, but we would ask our correspondent—to take one instance only—to run over in his mind the number of men who, to-day in Catholic England, can be

considered really first-rate Biblical scholars, men able to inspire confidence in their pupils, and fitted cogently and lucidly to deal with that destructive criticism which is every day becoming more clamorous for attention. And when he has reckoned up the very few who are eminently suitable for this most important work, let him deduct those who, as members of Religious Orders, or for whatever other cause, would be unavailable, and then let him say whether the remnant is sufficient to supply the scattered seminaries, and whether it is wise to limit a professor's opportunities for good to a handful of diocesan divines."

To any one considering the controversy as it was thus set forth by both sides, three points will seem specially noteworthy. The defenders of Cardinal Manning's policy —or rather of a modification of it, for no one now contended that there ought to be a separate seminary for every diocese—laid stress on the arguments (1) that in the case of a missionary country it is not enough to take the present poverty of a diocese and allege it as an excuse for joining in a central seminary—that would be to mortgage the future and to apply the standards of a stationary Catholicism to lands in which it ought to be a growing and progressive force; (2) Cardinal Vaughan, in the midst of a busy and crowded life, and with his mind always filled with plans far transcending the limits of a diocese, attached less importance than other Bishops might do to the advantage of having the ecclesiastical students of the diocese immediately under his eye; (3) it was evident that when the Cardinal and the writer of the "*Audi Alteram Partem*" were speaking of ecclesiastical seminaries their minds were not *ad idem*. The former had in view a sort of central university for ecclesiastical students in which all might find their highest mental and

spiritual equipment, while the latter contemplated diocesan institutions which, while sufficient to provide every student with a *scientia competens*, would leave the more gifted students free to continue their studies in one or other of the Catholic universities abroad. In the opinion of the author of "*Audi Alteram Partem*" a full seminary course of seven years was more than was necessary for the equipment of what might be described as a general practitioner. He urged that all the students should have a sufficient training, which might be given in the course of four or five years, while selected students who were qualified to specialise in one or other branch of the sacred sciences should be given opportunities for extended studies abroad. These views were further developed in a letter from Father Bourne to the Cardinal a few months later, after a chance meeting at St. Edmund's:—

"*Nov. 17th*, 1893.

"My Lord Cardinal,—I feel that I ought to write to you some expression of thanks for your kind words to me yesterday. I was naturally fearful that you might be displeased with me for defending the views opposed to those of the paper which people generally regard as representing your Eminence's ideas. But your kindness to me shows that my fears were without ground, and that you did not doubt my good intentions. I am the more grateful to you as it is truly to your Eminence's writings, the prefaces of *St. John Baptist de Rossi* and of *M. Olier* that I am most indebted in my work here. I trust, my Lord, that you will give us the honour of a visit when you have time. It would be a great encouragement to us in a work which, I honestly believe, may do real service to God in this part of England. I believe that we shall be able to give here a really solid course of study to fit men for the pastoral life, and also to prepare those who have ability for a course of

higher studies. The former course can, I think, be made equal to that offered by a Central College, while for higher studies I do not see how we can serve our purpose better than by making use of a foreign University, such as Fribourg. A Catholic college might give able lectures in philosophy and theology, but only a university would throw open to us a wide possibility of study in all branches, while at the same time it will bring our students into contact with the lay educated mind—a thing which seems to me of such vast importance to them in view of their influence on the non-Catholic world afterwards. A central college for divines could not give us this ; a foreign university will do it in a large measure, awaiting the time when a university course, both clerical and lay, may provide this opportunity fully at home. The great strength of the Church in Belgium appears to be that all the more able of the clergy and those who take part in teaching or who occupy prominent positions have passed some time at Louvain in contact with all the most educated of the laity. They go to Louvain after the seminary course is complete, and the fact that they are rather older than the bulk of the lay students, that they are already either priests or deacons, and rarely in lower orders, and that they have already received a full and careful spiritual training, gives them, in spite of the small proportion in which they stand to the lay students, a wonderful influence and position, which they could not have if they went to the university at a younger and more immature age. Their minds, too, are already open and developed, so that they are able to profit by and assimilate quickly the higher courses of studies. This struck me very much during the time that I was able to study at Louvain.

"With regard to the separation of clerical from lay students, what we feel here is that once a boy can see with any clearness that he really wishes to be a priest, whether this comes at fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, twenty, or later, it is an immense advantage for him to enter a seminary where he finds all like-minded to himself, and where he can throw himself fully into his daily life with some of the earnestness that a youth would enter religion.

This is very difficult in a mixed college, as I know by my own experience. We have had a striking example lately of the difference of character in those who come to a seminary as soon as their vocation seems clear, and those who passed first through a mixed college. Two youths have recently come to us—one who has been in the Civil Service, the other in a good mercantile situation. They have both, therefore, made some little sacrifice of independence and liberty to come here. Both are thoroughly happy, in earnest, and doing their best. Two others have entered after seven years in a mixed college, where they enjoyed a good character as Church students. In their case it seems quite impossible to get them to take a really supernatural view of their life—they are critical, discontented, and hard to please. It will be almost impossible now, at twenty or twenty-two years of age, to alter the bent of their character or to make of them really earnest and self-denying men. Bishop Ilsley tells me that he has frequently had the same experience at Oscott. On the other hand, we think it much better that, at least till fourteen, and indeed until there are real signs of vocation, all boys should be together in an ordinary school, and all treated alike as good Catholic lay boys. Moreover, as I have already said, it seems an enormous advantage for a student, when his seminary training is complete and he is to some extent a man, to be able again to mix with lay thought and life in a Catholic university.

"Pardon me, my Lord, inflicting so long a letter on you, but your well-known interest in education, your exalted position, and your great influence lead me to think that you will not mind my telling you at what we are aiming. I can assure your Eminence that we are only too anxious to do anything to produce a devoted and learned clergy, and that that is the only motive for the policy followed here. I can hardly hope for your agreement with all that I have said, but in spite of that I trust that you will not refuse us your sympathy and your good wishes in what is really an honest attempt to do good work. I trust, therefore, that your Eminence will grant to us, to the Seminary, and to those who are in it your paternal benediction."

It may be conjectured that Herbert Vaughan read this letter with something of the impatience with which one listens to arguments which come too late. His own arrangements for the Central Seminary were already made. His reply, therefore, was very brief:—

"*Nov. 18th.*

"DEAR FATHER BOURNE,—I hasten to thank you for your letter and for an account of your project. Whatever it may be worth, it is another way of dividing forces; and if such division be desirable your plan has some distinct merits, which I gladly recognise. Wishing you every blessing, I am

"Your faithful and devoted

"HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN." [1]

It is matter for conjecture to what extent these opposing views would have been brought nearer by the establishment, which has since taken place, of Halls at the National Universities, reserved exclusively for the use of Catholic ecclesiastical students, though it must of course

[1] In this connection it is of interest to recall the words of welcome with which Cardinal Vaughan a few years later greeted the colleague who was destined to be so closely associated with him for all the rest of his life :—

"*April 17th*, 1896. MY DEAR LORD BISHOP-ELECT,—Now that I have certain information of your appointment as Coadjutor with right of succession to the See of Southwark, I hasten to offer you every best wish, that God may use you as His instrument to do great things for His glory, both in raising the spirit and life of the priesthood, and in winning souls to salvation. I heartily welcome you among our number.—Your faithful and devoted HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN." A year later, when Mgr. Bourne had succeeded to the See of Southwark, the Cardinal wrote: "Once more welcome. 'He who has begun a good work in you will perfect it to the day of Jesus Christ.'"

be remembered that these Halls have nothing to do with the study of Theology. Certainly such a provision for the further education of the more promising students as was afterwards made possible under the terms of Lord and Lady Brampton's bequest would not only have delighted the heart of Cardinal Vaughan, but would have perhaps reconciled him to a less advanced scheme of study for the general body of the students.

St. Thomas' Seminary was sold, as was sadly noted at the time, on the Feast of its patron saint, St. Thomas of Canterbury, 1892. The last lecture was delivered there on the 14th of March in the following year, and four days later the Westminster students were transferred to Oscott. If any one thinks this was hasty action he may be reminded that Herbert Vaughan was perfectly familiar with all the circumstances of the problem before he came to Westminster, and when he was appointed Archbishop his mind was made up. When he went to Rome to receive the Red Hat he laid the whole subject before Leo XIII, begging his prayers and guidance for the future. The Pope was the more inclined to enter sympathetically into the question because at the time he was himself engaged in a similar task in Italy—securing more efficient seminaries by getting the weaker and poorer dioceses to combine.

On the day after he was made Cardinal, Herbert Vaughan presented a formal memorandum setting out his plans for the formation of a central seminary at Oscott. On the 1st of February, 1893, the answer of the Holy See was despatched. The salient passages were as follows: "You inform Us that it seems good to you and to nearly all the Bishops of the South of England to

establish a Central Seminary near Birmingham, wherein the elder amongst the clerical students of that part of England may be brought together and attend lectures, delivered by the very best professors in those noble branches of Science (Philosophy and Theology). Thus it will come to pass that a very large number of students will derive advantage from the experience and method of teaching of professors enjoying a high reputation; and there will be little, if any, conflict regarding questions which are mere matters of opinion; that numbers will kindle a love of study amongst the scholars; and that these will promote progress amongst themselves by mutual emulation, no less than by friendly advice and assistance. Since, therefore, this wise project, if carried into effect, will secure these and other advantages, such as you have well pointed out, it becomes Us not only to give a well-deserved tribute of praise to you and to the other Bishops acting in concert with you in this matter, but further earnestly to exhort you to join forces, and with brave hearts and united counsels to set your hands to the work, from the completion of which you will reap advantageous results proportionate to the wisdom you have shown in starting it. And if, indeed, it shall please God to preserve Our life for a while, We entertain good hope that We shall be able one day as joyfully to congratulate you on the prosperous and happy result of work well done, as We now warmly encourage you to begin it."

The publication of this letter from the Holy Father at once gave new strength to the old suspicion that the Cardinal was trying to force his own views upon the other dioceses. He sent the following "inspired paragraph" for insertion in the *Tablet:* "We learn that some

persons have drawn what we must consider an erroneous conclusion from the recently published letters of the Holy Father and the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in which approval is expressed of the plan agreed on by a number of the Bishops for forming a Central Seminary at Oscott. The letters contain, not an order, but a commendation and an encouragement. That there is nothing in the text that is preceptive, we think, is clear, and, in any case, may be inferred from the fact that the Advent Pastorals of the Bishops of Southwark and Leeds, which we publish elsewhere, treat at length of the maintenance of their local diocesan seminaries."

Meanwhile, Oscott had become, if not *de jure*, at least *de facto*, a Central Seminary for a large part of the South of England. The theological students of the dioceses of Westminster, Birmingham, Southwark, Portsmouth, and Northampton were already gathered there. The presence of the Southwark students was quickly explained. They were sent there only as a temporary measure until their own diocesan seminary should be ready. It may be noted that this Seminary, situated at Wonersh, and built under the fostering care of successive Bishops, is the only strictly Tridentine seminary that has ever existed in England. While lay boys are not admitted, ecclesiastical students are taken at fourteen years of age, and continue there up to the time of their ordination. It is a seminary, that is, in the full and exclusive sense of the term, where Church students are taught their Humanities, their Philosophy, and their Theology. But Cardinal Vaughan was by no means content with having established a Central Seminary at Oscott *de facto;* he was determined that, if possible, it should be *de jure* also. He wanted an institution that

should be permanent, and one in the management of which the co-interested Bishops should have a recognised place. Addressing his clergy in June, 1893, after adverting to the closing of St. Thomas', he continued: "Reasons which pointed to an amalgamation with several other dioceses rather than a return to St. Edmund's College were such as the following: (1) One of the principal desiderata for a great ecclesiastical institution is a sense of stability and permanence. The great success and popularity of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, are attributable in large measure to this stability, which has been secured to it through the fact that it is under the general government of six co-interested Bishops, whereas a seminary which is under the control of one person only, the Ordinary of the diocese, has no similar guarantee of stability, but is liable to frequent changes as one Bishop succeeds another in the government of the diocese. Nothing could be more important to secure confidence in an institution than a sense of its stability, than a feeling of certainty that there will be no sudden uprooting, or radical alteration of system except for reasons which satisfy a corporation. When the Holy Father has exempted corporations and other institutions from the absolute control and jurisdiction of an Ordinary it has usually been in order to secure to them that stability and continuity of system which would in the long run be jeopardised by subjection to the absolute authority of one. This sense of security in the permanent, in the steady and natural growth of a public institution not only draws around it the loyalty and confidence of those who have been educated in it, but attracts the confidence, support, and the bequests

of those who value the objects for which the institution was founded, and who desire to feel some security that their benefactions will find a permanent home and form a part of the growth and splendour of an institution which is destined to last through its being placed under the control of what is practically a corporation that cannot die. Now, if it be possible to form for the Southern part of England—for instance, at Oscott—a great Central Seminary, governed, as Ushaw is, by its co-interested Bishops, it may be hoped that that note of stability with its corresponding note of public confidence will have been secured."

A great deal of patient spade work had to be done before these hopes could be realised. The rights of the territorial Bishop, the owner of St. Mary's, Oscott, had to be reconciled with those of prelates whose sole interest in the place was the temporary presence of their students there. There were many delicate questions and some personal susceptibilities, and not a few financial difficulties, to be taken into account. Herbert Vaughan, as his way was, prayed himself out of his difficulties, and went to Rome and laid the whole case before the Holy See. It was not a case for hustling, but for infinite patience, and he knew it for the work of years. A fragmentary diary, kept while he was in Rome in 1895, showed how warmly he was encouraged by Leo XIII. Thus, under date January 22nd, we read: "Central Seminary—the Pope asked how this was progressing; he urged me most strongly to use all my influence to promote it, getting good studies and a learned clergy, &c., as the best means of converting England. He pressed this matter with great urgency." A few months later,

on April 3rd, he notes: "The Holy Father urged me again to make the Central Seminary my great work—a university of ecclesiastical studies. While the laity are being educated still more must be done for the clergy. This was the third time during this visit to Rome that the Pope has urged this, and always *ex motu proprio*, and without my leading up to the subject." That exhortation of the Sovereign Pontiff, "the Central Seminary my great work," was as a refrain to all Herbert Vaughan's thoughts during these years. He worked at this unceasingly until at last it was accomplished. On the 15th of July, 1897, nearly five years after the first conception of the scheme, St. Mary's College, Oscott, became *de jure* as well as *de facto* the Common Seminary for the dioceses of Westminster, Birmingham, Clifton, Newport, Portsmouth, Northampton, and what was then the Vicariate of Wales.

On that day the co-interested Bishops held their first meeting as the governing body of the Seminary, and signed the legal documents by which the endowments of the professorial chairs were to be permanently secured. The new arrangement was thus described in the Cardinal's words: "The arrangement by which Oscott, without putting in jeopardy the special permanent interests of the diocese of Birmingham, has been erected into a Central Seminary for six other dioceses, are these. The College, with its historic buildings, splendid libraries, and beautiful grounds, comes under the control of the seven associated Bishops, three of whom are now appointed as trustees for the property in addition to the three old trustees. While the diocese of Birmingham thus supplies the buildings and equipment for the Seminary, the six

other dioceses have contributed between them a capital sum which, safely invested, will bring in an annual income of £1,000. So that what may be regarded as the 'plant' of the establishment is found by one diocese; the full maintenance of superiors and teaching staff will be found by the other six. Each Bishop, moreover, will pay for as many students as he has subjects in the Seminary. Certain measures have also been taken to safeguard the ultimate rights of the diocese of Birmingham in the event of contingencies which are very unlikely to arise. The supreme government of the College is now vested in the Board of co-interested Bishops. The Archbishop of Westminster will act as the President of the Board, which will meet every year in October, and as frequently at other times as may be found desirable and convenient. It goes without saying that the Board nominates the Rector and the members of the teaching staff, and regulates all matters connected with the studies and discipline of the College and the moral and intellectual training of the students. A new set of Constitutions has been drawn up and is now in force in the Seminary, pending the formal approval of the Holy Father, to whom they have been submitted. These conditions, though they introduce no very important changes, have been most carefully and anxiously drawn up after comparison with the rules observed in three of the most famous ecclesiastical seminaries in the world."

To complete the story it only remains to add that the Bishop of Birmingham resigned the position he had held for so many years as Rector, and was succeeded by a man after his own heart, Mgr. Parkinson. The College opened under the new *régime* with seventy-four students, of whom

twenty-nine belonged to Westminster and twenty-six to Birmingham.

It is not within the scope of this biography to consider the changes that have taken place at Oscott since the Cardinal's death. This, however, may be said with confidence: if it be true that towards the end of his life Cardinal Vaughan looked back upon his work at Oscott with perhaps a shade of disappointment, that was certainly not due to any misgivings as to the soundness of the principle to which he had tried to give effect. If there was any dissatisfaction it was with the way in which his plan had worked out in practice, and not with the plan itself. Perhaps Oscott never came to be a central seminary in as full and complete a way as he had hoped. He had tried so hard, had accepted such complete self-effacement for himself and the diocese he represented in order to secure perfect harmony, and yet success in its completeness eluded him. It cannot be said that the Central Seminary ever came to be regarded as an institution common to all, and at least belonging equally to all the dioceses whose students resided there. There were some who from the outset thought the arrangement by which the Westminster students were sent to study outside the diocese derogatory to the dignity of the Metropolitan See; but the Cardinal, though he provided as much money for the new endowment of the seminary as all the other dioceses put together, and though Westminster sent more students than any other diocese, was content to claim for himself and for Westminster only one-seventh share in the government of the Seminary, and to have no more part in its management than was conceded to a Bishop who had perhaps only a

couple of students there. The Cardinal never forgot that Oscott belonged to Birmingham, and that the Bishop, in surrendering his exclusive control to share it with six other co-interested Bishops, was giving up a great deal. To make that sacrifice as little difficult as possible, and to make sure of the harmonious co-operation of all in the future, was, throughout, Cardinal Vaughan's great, and indeed only, aim.

It was for this reason that the whole of the old staff was re-engaged. All belonged to the diocese of Birmingham, knowing the needs of Birmingham but little acquainted with those of Westminster; and if at any time, as the years wore on, the Cardinal felt that his plan had not worked out to a perfect success, or that the students from other dioceses were slow to think of Oscott as their natural Alma Mater, probably the explanation may be found in this decision to retain the services of a staff recruited wholly from a single diocese.

Moreover, this arrangement must have seemed to many to rob of all its force one of the arguments on which the Cardinal had greatly relied in urging the advantages of a central seminary. It was contended that such a seminary, commanding the resources of many dioceses, would be able to secure the services of a teaching staff such as no single diocese could hope for. In fact, the staff of the Central Seminary was neither better nor worse than it had been—it was the same.

To that decision, too, may probably be traced a graver disappointment which came to the Cardinal in the day of his failing strength. Towards the close of 1898 he felt obliged to express his disapproval of a certain matter touching the internal discipline of the Seminary. To his

surprise he found that his remonstrance was disregarded, and that he was faced with the open and united opposition of the whole staff. The question at issue was one upon which admittedly opinions might legitimately differ, but it was also one on which the Cardinal felt strongly. He gave way, but it was impossible for him then not to know that in founding the Central Seminary as he had done, he, in some sort, parted with the power to control the training of his own students.[1]

Herbert Vaughan's matured views as to the training and work and ideals of the secular priesthood are most fully explained in his preface to the *Life of St. John Baptist de Rossi*. He was drawn to that saint just for the reason that he was the only example in modern times of a simple secular priest who has been canonised as a Confessor. Cardinal Vaughan shared to the full Cardinal Manning's jealous regard for all that concerned the honour and dignity of the Secular priesthood, and he took this

[1] The present Archbishop, speaking of the policy which has once more made St. Edmund's College the seminary of the diocese of Westminster, said on the occasion of the opening of the new buildings, May 24th, 1905: "It is not necessary to rehearse all the motives which culminated in that decision, but it may not be out of place to mention a criticism which it must certainly evoke, namely, that it is a departure from a policy adopted after due consideration by two most able and most eminent Archbishops. To this criticism we may fairly make answer that the policy which has been abandoned was not in any sense a continuous one. The course which had appeared best to Cardinal Manning was after some four-and-twenty years definitely relinquished, and gave place to a policy which in the first instance was adopted merely as an expedient, and which, when it had assumed a more definite shape, did not even then realise fully the intentions of Cardinal Vaughan, with whom it had originated. In saying this I speak of what I know. I do not say that my revered predecessor would have adopted the policy to which we are now committed, but I am certain that if God had spared him to us he would have found himself face to face with the grave contingencies which confronted me, and that he would have been obliged to reconsider the whole question."

opportunity of explaining why there was this dearth of canonised saints in their ranks. The Secular priest, unlike the monk, lives his life alone, works in his parish until his strength fails, and then a new man comes. There is no one with the zeal of comradeship to make a record of his deeds, and no undying corporation ready, perhaps centuries after, to work and spend for the glory of his memory in promoting his canonisation. An apt illustration of this difference between the Secular and Regular clergy was supplied by the then recent publication of the voluminous Records of the Society of Jesus in England. "No such records could be produced of the lives of the Secular clergy; for the simple reason that the Secular clergy have never had the custom of drawing up a chronicle of the lives of their brethren. Secular and Regular missioners lived side by side in the same country, were equally pursued, hunted, and persecuted, preached the same faith, and died the same deaths. The minute history of the latter has been happily preserved; the history of the former, unless some special notoriety attached to their lives, is confined to the chronicles of Heaven." Even so, lest any inference should be drawn from the fewness of their saints, detrimental to the Secular clergy, Herbert Vaughan pointed out that the oldest and most famous of all the Religious Orders was in much the same position—"the great Benedictine Order has not given to the Church a canonised saint for five centuries." While always setting a high value upon the services of the Religious Orders, and anxious for their co-operation as long as they realised that their place in the Church was that of auxiliaries, he seems to have felt that after all theirs was not the highest calling.

Writing to his brother John, then studying for the priesthood, he used these words: "I know that young men in their first fervour often think that the only thing to do is to become a Religious. And I know just as well that they often live to see that they have made a mistake. Remember, too, as to perfection, what Our Lord said to St. Peter—'Lovest thou Me?'; then as the test and proof and reward of such love—'Feed My sheep.' The proof of love is not to desert the battlefield, nor even to seek for that which theoretically may be more perfect for self, but to labour with Our Lord for Souls—to suffer, work, and live for Souls."

Something of the same feeling, that qualities of a higher order are needed for the Secular priest, finds expression in the following passage from the preface quoted above: "The priest must live by rule—a rule based upon the nature of the sacerdotal life, and proportioned to his character, grace, and duties. He can draw up such a rule under the advice of his director, and can follow it in obedience. It must be a rule that touches his rising, meditation, Mass, prayers, visits, and other duties. If he think, because he is not a monk, that he may live with his mind all abroad, by impulse and without rule, or if he knows that he has not sufficient self-mastery to lead a life of rule by himself, let him be well assured that he has no vocation to be a Secular priest. He may go into a monastery perhaps, and live safely under the rule and surveillance of a holy community, or he may go into the world as a layman and settle down."

Before taking final leave of this treatise, in which, better than anywhere else, is found the expression of Herbert Vaughan's deepest convictions on the subject he most

cared for, a passage may be quoted which stands for the thought lying at the root of his ideals for the Catholic priesthood : " Practically the diocesan clergy in England and other missionary lands form a great mendicant order. *Nolens volens*, the Secular priest must often be as poor as St. Francis. If he is poor by necessity he will be wise to sanctify his poverty by making it voluntary through acts of will. More wonderful than any Midas' wand is the act of the will which can convert the distress of earthly poverty into a heavenly treasure. Nothing assuredly is sadder than to see a priest fretting and repining at poverty, treating as an unwelcome wretch her who has been offered to him, even as a spouse, by Jesus Christ. Let him once begin to look upon poverty as the Apostles and St. John Baptist did, and after a little time he will fall upon his knees and bless God for a new sense of liberty and independence that has arisen within his soul, and for a train of innumerable blessings. A priest is not open to reproach if he lay by some provision for sickness and old age, especially where there is no common fund for that purpose ; even the Regular, when he vows poverty, knows that he will be provided for. But to provide for a time of illness and old age, out of the contributions and free gifts of the flock, is a very different thing to bequeathing the money thus collected to friends and relatives. It is a scandal to the faithful, and a lasting stain on the name of a priest, when money given in the service of God, or for the use of His anointed, is hoarded and finally left away from the Church for the enjoyment of a private family."

That his clergy should live their lives in a spirit of detachment and be really in love with evangelical poverty

would at any time of his career have seemed to Herbert Vaughan the best of all the blessings that God could give. When he had founded the Central Seminary he believed that the best that was possible had been done to secure, besides, their intellectual fitness.

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATION OF THE LAYMAN

ONE of the questions left unsettled, and yet clamorous for settlement, at the time of Cardinal Manning's death was that of the relation between the Catholics of England and the national Universities. While there was breath in the old Lion no one stirred—but many waited. Certainly when Herbert Vaughan came to Westminster he had no illusions—he knew that the truce was at an end. An assenting party to the disastrous attempt to found a Catholic University College in Kensington, under Mgr. Capel, he must share the responsibility of its failure, but the scheme was not his scheme. Among his papers is an elaborate memorandum addressed to Cardinal Barnabo in 1867 on the claims of Catholics to send their sons to Oxford and Cambridge. He was not yet a Bishop, but a simple priest, fresh from his wanderings in the Americas. What was he doing at that time, addressing the Holy See upon large questions of ecclesiastical policy? It is easier to ask the question than to answer it.

At any rate the arguments against the attendance of Catholic students at the Universities are arrayed with great confidence, but they are familiar to us as those of W. G. Ward and Cardinal Manning. What may be described as the preamble of the paper is the echo of the words of others; but the constructive part of it is the

writer's own. It was quite clear to Herbert Vaughan that a merely negative policy could not suffice. If admission to Oxford and Cambridge was denied, some alternative must be offered. The plan he proposed may seem inadequate, but at least in its large outlines it was broad and simple, and might have been tried with the minimum of risk. He pointed out that there were already in existence twelve Catholic Colleges. Most of them were what we should now speak of as secondary schools, but some of them were something more, and in the standard of studies and the age of the pupils approached those of the Universities. Herbert Vaughan proposed that the governing bodies of these schools—the Bishops and the Religious bodies—should unite to found an Examining University under a Charter from the Holy See. All the twelve Colleges were to be represented on the Examining Board, and to unite in granting degrees and offering scholarships. Whatever else may be said of this scheme, at least it had this merit, that it would have united the whole of the Catholic body in one effort. What was the fate of the memorandum, or even if it was ever presented, I do not know. Cardinal Manning had made up his mind that the Hierarchy should not be helped or hampered by any alliance or co-operation with the Religious Orders. The Kensington College was begun with Mgr. Capel for Rector, and so jealously was it guarded from any contact with the Religious Orders, that when a young Jesuit, Father Bernard Vaughan, presented himself as a student, anxious to attend the course of chemistry lectures given by Professor Barff, he was refused admission. That incident represented much —it was typical of the disunion upon which the whole

scheme made shipwreck. Half the Catholic schools were conducted by the Religious Orders—Jesuits, Benedictines, and Oratorians—and to exclude them from all share in the University College was to alienate the sympathies of a large part of the Catholic laity. The failure to secure the active co-operation of Cardinal Newman was in itself a blunder for which nothing could atone. The so-called University College would perhaps have failed in any case, but it failed primarily because those who planned it at the outset deprived it of any chance of success.

During the rest of Manning's life—some fifteen years—intermittent attempts were made to reopen the question of Catholic attendance at the Universities, but they came to nothing in the face of the resolute opposition of the Archbishop. And it was a bitter disappointment to the old man when, for good reasons alleged, individual Bishops, and sometimes even the Pope himself, granted special permission to this or that youth to go to Oxford or to Cambridge. Among the Bishops the leaders of the party who in this respect played a prominent part in opposition to Cardinal Manning were the Bishop of Clifton, the Hon. and Right Rev. Dr. Clifford, and the present Bishop of Newport. Among the laity the most consistently active was Lord Braye. The attitude of the Catholic body as a whole during the last half-dozen years of Manning's life may be fairly described as one of sombre acquiescence.

For more than twenty years Herbert Vaughan had stood by Manning's side in this quarrel. As recently as 1889 he had addressed the Holy See on the subject, and with his usual directness had put his finger on the weak spot in the Papal Admonition. As long as the prohibition was made to rest upon the duty of avoiding the proximate

occasions of sin, it would always be open to parents to try to convince this or that Bishop, or the Pope himself, that for their exceptionally gifted sons this danger did not in fact exist. He saw that the growing system of exceptions and special permissions had to go if the prohibition was to be effective—that it must not be a question whether attendance at one or other of the Universities would be likely to imperil the faith of this or that young man, but whether it would be dangerous for the average Catholic youth.

Something of this comes out in the following memorandum: "(1) We need a restatement of the principles and doctrine laid down in the Propaganda letter of August 6th, 1867. (2) Some direction which will prevent individual Bishops, with perhaps little knowledge and little experience of the danger, counteracting the instruction of the Holy See by giving leave to young Catholics to go to the Universities. (3) A detailed and emphatic instruction to provide a course of Catholic Philosophy for the laity—pointing out that among the reasons why the national Universities are unfit places for the education of Catholics, is that a Catholic course of Philosophy cannot be obtained in them, and that Catholic youths ought not to be exposed to the dangers of rationalism and infidelity during the course of their education. (4) It should be observed that the instruction of August 6th, 1867, was based upon the intrinsic danger of mixed education, and on the necessity of avoiding proximate occasions of mortal sin. May I suggest that in addition to these considerations an appeal might be made with great advantage to higher sentiments and aspirations? It ought not to be a mere question as to whether the danger of perversion to an individual Catholic

in frequenting the national Universities can be made remote. It is only too easy to find priests and even Bishops, not to speak of parents, who will declare that the danger for this or that individual is not proximate but remote. As long as this is the only consideration put forward by the Holy See the Universities are practically open to Catholic youth. It is not merely a question of rendering a danger remote for an individual; the most serious question is the effect of his example on others. Thus parents would be moved by such considerations as the following: (1) That the presence of Catholics of position at the Universities becomes a danger to the Church by the attraction which their example offers to others; that it is impossible to distinguish between the moral capacity of one character and another; that Catholic parents must bear in mind the grave injury they may inflict on others by their example in sending their sons to the Universities.

"(2) That the Catholics of England have been willing to suffer for centuries much worse privations than this of not going to the Universities, and that their noblest and best traditions should therefore make them willing still to suffer some slight privation for the purity of their faith, and to secure the immense boon of a system of purely Catholic education; that they should look forward to the time, and prepare, as Catholics in other countries have done, for a Catholic University, or at least for a Catholic system of higher education. An effort was made some years ago. It failed; but a time may come when the Catholics of England may make a united effort and either develop what they have or found something new. We need encouragement from the Holy

See, we need an appeal to be made to the noblest and most loyal sentiments of Catholics by the Holy See. So long as the Holy See confines itself to declaring general principles as to mortal sin in the matter of mixed education, so long will Catholics examine and determine the question on that ground alone. But if the Holy See would lift the whole question into a higher region and appeal to the highest motives, and invite the co-operation of all to make generous sacrifices on behalf of the Catholicity of the future, a response would be given by many to such an appeal. Let the Holy See point out that the Church must look to the future, and that the future of Catholic education ought not to be jeopardised by selfishness or want of generosity and self-denial in the present. These are motives which will not fail to strengthen the public policy of Catholics in a determination to have nothing to do with the Universities. Once more I implore of your Eminence to take up the cause before it becomes difficult or hopeless, and to give us a full and ample instruction, so that we may not only hold in horror the mixed education, which is so great an evil, but that we may determine to develop Catholic Philosophy and prepare the minds of the Catholic educated classes to resist the increasing rationalism and infidelity which is now penetrating everywhere. I beg your Eminence to pardon the freedom of my speech while I assure you that I submit in all things to the judgment and direction of the Holy See."

Finally, to show what it was exactly which Cardinal Vaughan had in mind when he spoke of the intellectual atmosphere of the Universities as likely to be dangerous to the faith of young Catholics, the following letter from a

Catholic undergraduate may be quoted because I know it made a great impression on him at the time :—

"You have no idea how irreligious the atmosphere, especially the intellectual atmosphere, is here at Oxford. And it is not that men scoff or sneer at religion. What strikes me is the number of men, both professors and undergraduates, who simply discard the supernatural in religion altogether, who believe in nothing but what is material, and believe in no one but themselves. There are others, on the other hand, who are too afraid to declare that they have no religion, but who look upon religion as being simply a social conventionality, by the non-observance of which you scandalise your neighbour. Never was this better illustrated than last night at the Union. The proposition before the meeting was 'that the meeting does not consider there is sufficient evidence for disbelieving in the phenomena known as Ghosts.' The supporters held the theory that most ghost stories were true, but were due to natural causes not yet discovered. The opponents held that no natural causes could be attributed to them, and therefore they could have no existence. But you will say that the question of belief in ghosts is not a very serious matter. Just so, I reply. And if the matter had ended there it might have been merely amusing. But it was discussed on the basis of the unbelieving spirit of the age and led on to a discussion as to the existence of any supernatural agency. And though according to the rules of the Society theological discussion is not allowed, an exceedingly thin veil was thrown over the arguments, and many of the speeches rejected everything supernatural. One thus got an opportunity of seeing what the general tone of the more cultivated section of Oxford was, and my opinion is undoubtedly that it is absolutely irreligious. For a certain amount of irreligion, nay, for a large amount of it, I was fully prepared, but the reality has far surpassed my expectations. The danger to us does not lie in constantly hearing open declarations of agnosticism, for the attitude of the agnostic is repugnant from its very presumptuousness, but in the constant and most insidious assumptions made by all around that there is no supernatural, that therefore

there is no need of religion, and that the world is a perfectible organism. You will see how all this aims at the very root of our fundamental doctrines; but you will see how we must be safe if only we keep our eyes open. Forewarned is forearmed."

He had other letters to the same effect.

And yet it would be true to say that when Cardinal Vaughan came to face the problem as Metropolitan he approached it without prejudice. No man was ever less hampered by his own past. He had given himself so utterly to the cause he served that there was no room for such poor irrelevancies as questions of personal consistency. What was best for the spiritual welfare of these youths? Nothing else mattered, and least of all whether this or that party could claim a victory, or this or that prelate must confess that for a quarter of a century he had been fighting the inevitable and committing the Church in England to a policy that was as short-sighted as it was futile. But though he was now to advocate what he had formerly opposed, the master motive was the same.

When the question first came to the front in the late 'sixties, the arguments used on either side were not only opposed to each other, but were on a different plane. The advantages of a university career were at least not primarily religious, while the dangers apprehended were concerned wholly with either faith or morals. It would not be fair to say that worldly advantages were being balanced against spiritual perils, but certainly the main motive of those who urged the change was to secure for Catholics the widest opportunities of achieving successful careers, while those who resisted did so because they believed the common life of the Universities might lead

to some weakening of Catholic faith. To Herbert Vaughan, who cared supremely for the one set of considerations and hardly at all for the other, who all his life thought success in this world was good or evil solely in relation to the next, the question was not an open one, or, rather, for him there was no question at all. His side was taken at once; the mere presentment of the case ranged him in opposition.

Perhaps it will help to make the Cardinal's view clearer if we take as a concrete instance his advice in the case of his own nephew:—

"*Oct.*, 1891.

"My dear Charles,—If there were no future state, and if Catholics in your position had no mission as Catholics to the English people, I would say go to Oxford or Cambridge—whichever you like. You may learn a little there, and you will make acquaintances and get into the ways of the world. And it won't make much matter what happens so long as you are happy and don't disgrace yourself. But we believe in a future state, and I believe in Catholics having a mission to the English people. Your influence will depend not upon your being like and equal to the mass of Englishmen, but upon your being of a higher type and superior to them, specially in intellectual grasp and in an intelligent possession of philosophical and Catholic truth. Oxford and Cambridge can only give you what they have. They have a false philosophy so far as they have any; and they are essentially in mind, heart, and influence alien to the Catholic standards of thought and aspiration. You cannot impress upon yourself too thoroughly the thought

that you are now arrived at the time when you are really beginning the most important period of your education. Your faculties have been trained and prepared for what ought now to begin, viz., a thorough Catholic intellectual training in the science which will give you a command and a sure footing over the whole region of moral and philosophical thought. As to your view that you can get 'practical philosophy by mixing up with men in real life,' that simply means that if you stick tight to the Catechism, you will get through life as a Catholic and save your soul. But this also means that you must have nothing to do with the great world of thought and speculation which is entering like an atmosphere into the lives of men. It means that instead of taking up a position of strength and influence and rendering valuable service to God, you are willing to take a back seat and to bury your talent. It means that you are willing to forfeit a grand opportunity to prepare yourself to do all that you can for God's honour and glory, in order that you may gain *what?* in return for this forfeiture? Yes, ask yourself *what?* This is a matter that you should earnestly and humbly pray for light upon. Commend yourself to the *Sedes Sapientiae*, who will never fail you if you never leave the steps of her throne until she has led you to Her Son.

"Believe me,

"Your devoted uncle,

"H., Bp. Salford.

"PS.—Think of this as a recipe to make a loyal, leading, powerful Catholic: 'Send him in the most critical period of life to a Protestant University, plunge him into an atmosphere of worldliness, prevent his having a sound

course of Catholic Philosophy, and trust to practical philosophy issuing from familiar contact with the world, the flesh, and the devil.' 'Queer,' you will say. Yes, it's Old Nick's recipe without his usual gilding."

When Herbert Vaughan came to Westminster his attitude was the same as it had been in Salford, but his action was different—he sought the same end but with altered means. When a little later he had to consider a numerously and influentially signed petition on behalf of the laity urging that Catholics should be allowed to attend the Universities, he must have felt that much of its argumentative matter was not to the point. All that was said about the advantages of a university training to fit men for public life and professional careers left him quite cold. What did touch him was the testimony of the Jesuits at Oxford, and of Mgr. Scott, of Baron Anatole von Hügel at Cambridge, who, knowing the Universities well, and having special opportunities of judging the conduct of the Catholic undergraduates, reported most favourably from the point of view of both faith and morals. Cardinal Vaughan had to face this situation ; in spite of every official discouragement the number of Catholics at the Universities had increased, and was likely to go on increasing. Was it better to continue a prohibition which had largely failed to secure its object, or to remove the ban and at the same time to secure for Catholics attending the Universities whatever safeguards for their faith were possible? Given the situation, the decision could hardly be doubtful.

Before, however, taking any action, Cardinal Vaughan had still to be quite satisfied that what he still thought the best was impossible. He privately took the opinion of a

number of leading Catholics as to how far they would be prepared to support a renewal, under happier auspices, of the experiment which had failed at Kensington. He can hardly have had much expectation of a favourable response. It was his homage to a dead ideal. The replies he received were decisive, and he at once made up his mind that regrets for the best should no longer block the way to the realisation of the second best. The first person to whom he communicated what had been working in his mind for some months was the Bishop of Newport. Writing from Imberhorne, where he happened to be staying as the guest of the late Sir Edward Blount, the Cardinal explained his views in these words:—

"*September 26th*, 1894.

"I send herewith the thoughts which have been forced upon me by the state of Oxford and Cambridge, and the ever-increasing number of Catholics going there. The laity are not likely to be withdrawn, and I have sounded the leaders and they will give nothing towards a repetition of the Kensington experiment; I have therefore been led to think that it will be wise and statesmanlike on our part, as Bishops, to take up the whole question and solve it in the only way it will work (as it seems to me). We should place ourselves at the head and not at the tail of the movement. I have not spoken to any of the Bishops about it yet. And I should like to hear your views on the subject. I therefore send you the enclosed and beg you will return it with observations. I shall see the six Northern Bishops on October 14th at Ushaw. Please keep it private."

The enclosure was a memorandum drawn up for

the consideration of the Bishops at their meeting on January 4th, 1895. It first noted as a thing "ascertained" the unwillingness of the leaders of the Catholic laity to repeat, under any conditions, the experiment which had failed twenty years before. "They plead that the experience of thirty years has shown that Oxford and Cambridge do not present to well-trained Catholic young men 'the proximate occasions' to the loss of faith and morals which were the grounds of objection laid down by the Holy See. They feel that for a certain class of young men, after their school-days are over, there is no alternative to this university education that is acceptable. It is further added that the Universities have decidedly improved in tone and character during the last thirty years, and that rationalism and infidelity are not aggressive as they once were. The dangers, therefore, to Catholic faith and morals have proportionately diminished, and are actually less than will generally be found in many of the professions which Catholics must enter."

Cardinal Vaughan knew that a negative policy was impossible, and he regarded the continuance of the state of things then existing as impossible. He wrote: "The present position of English Catholics at Oxford and Cambridge is intolerable. There are about fifty Catholic undergraduates in residence at the two Universities. The number is steadily on the increase." Then, pointing out that neither the Irish nor the Scotch Bishops had taken any action in regard to Oxford and Cambridge, he continued: "Upon the Catholic youth of England alone there rests, if not a formal precept actually forbidding them to frequent the Universities, at least a strong disapproval, amounting almost to a prohibition, on the part

of the Holy See and the English Bishops. In a few cases Catholic students frequenting these Universities obtain a permission, by way of exception, from their Bishops, but in general no permission is sought. The consequences are—(1) That injury is inflicted on the loyalty to the Church of these Catholics who are led to frequent the Universities, in spite of the warnings and dissuasions of the Holy See. (2) That the Catholic undergraduates are left without those safeguards and Catholic educational advantages which might be provided were the position of Catholics at the Universities frankly recognised by the Church. (3) That while the number of Catholics at the Universities continues to increase the present evils will become permanent, instead of being temporary and transient, unless their position be duly recognised and regulated on Catholic principles."

Accordingly at the meeting of the Bishops on January 4th, 1895, Cardinal Vaughan urged that the Holy See should be petitioned to withdraw the admonition against the attendance of Catholics at the Universities, on certain conditions. The chief of these was that provision should be made for a resident chaplain and for courses of lectures on Catholic Philosophy and Church History. His pleading with the Hierarchy was successful Writing to the Bishop of Newport the next day he says :

"*Jan. 5th*, 1895.

"My dear Lord,—By a good majority we agreed—(1) to petition the Holy See to remove the prohibition ; (2) to place ourselves at the head of the movement ; (3) to form a board of Bishops, priests, and laymen to collect money and propose lectures, &c. The Board to act subject

to the approval of the Hierarchy. Hence, if such be the direction of the Holy See, we are about to embark on a new policy for the Church in England, and though we shall find rocks and shoals, we shall, I doubt not, be entering upon the work that God requires of His Church in this country.

"Yours devotedly,

"H. C. V."

Having once taken the matter in hand, he pressed it in Rome with his usual energy. We get a glimpse of his activity in the following extract from a letter written from the English College on the 20th of March, 1895: "On Tuesday the University question comes on at a General Congregation of Propaganda. I have drawn up the *ponenza* and Galemberti is to be present. I have no doubt about the result." In Rome Cardinal Vaughan found his hands much strengthened by the petition before referred to, which was signed by nearly all the leading Catholics of the country. The petition was dated December, 1894, some three months after Cardinal Vaughan had opened his mind on the subject to the Bishop of Newport. On the 25th of April the following very cautious announcement was made in the *Tablet*:—

"In consequence of altered circumstances and of further experience, the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops, in January last, drew up certain resolutions in modification of the policy hitherto pursued by the Catholic Church towards the education of Catholics in the national Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These resolutions were duly submitted to the superior authority of the Holy See. After full examination by the

Sacred Congregation of Propaganda they were graciously approved on April 2nd by the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII. The decision, therefore, of the Church in this matter is as follows: That no kind of approval or toleration can be given to the education of Catholic youths in the national Universities unless they have previously obtained, during the period of their primary and secondary education, a thorough and exact knowledge of their religion, and are of a sufficiently solid and formed character to fit them for university life; and unless, moreover, they be prepared to avail themselves of such instruction, to be offered to them during their university course, as shall equip them with such further suitable and adequate Catholic training and knowledge as may be deemed requisite. A small Council has been nominated by the Bishops, consisting of clergy and laity, to provide for these religious and educational interests of Catholic undergraduates, without, however, interfering with the ordinary work of the Universities."

In September of the following year a collective letter from the Bishops was addressed to Catholic parents and guardians announcing the appointment of chaplains and the formation of a Universities Board, whose duty it would be to provide funds for the special course of lectures which the Catholic undergraduates would be expected to attend. It only remains to say that the experiment appears to have been completely successful from every point of view, and that Cardinal Vaughan lived long enough to be able to acknowledge that the fears of those who had resisted the change had so far been happily disappointed. In a memorandum for the information of Propaganda, written some five months before his death,

after alluding to the leave given first to Catholic laymen and then to ecclesiastics to go to the Universities, he said: "I must report most favourably of the effect of these two permissions. Catholics have done themselves great credit in both Universities."

CHAPTER IV

THE FIGHT FOR THE SCHOOLS

WHEN Herbert Vaughan began in Salford the great fight for the poor-schools—which he continued in London, and which he regarded as the most important work of his life—the Act of 1870 had been in force for a dozen years, and already its fruits were apparent.

The Board schools which had been designed to supplement the Voluntary schools had begun to supplant them. It was a strange system which the nation had drifted into rather than chosen. The Voluntary schools, with an average attendance of something over two million children, and the Board schools, with an average attendance of something less than one million, were doing precisely the same work for the State. Each set of schools took the children as their raw material, and, passing them through the educational mill, turned out every year, as the finished product, a certain number of boys and girls, furnished with the required amount of secular instruction. There was nothing to choose between the results shown by the two sets of schools. But for equal service there was nothing like equal reward. The 17s. per child at that time paid to the Board schools out of the rates had a poor equivalent in the case of the Denominational schools in the average 6s. 10d. per child supplied by

voluntary subscriptions. It may be asked, How was the balance made up? It was not made up. The equipment of the schools was poorer, and the teachers were fewer, and they were at the same time underpaid and overworked. So much willing suffering might have been borne and the unequal struggle might have gone on indefinitely; but year after year those who had the interests of popular education at heart called more and more insistently for a higher level of efficiency in the schools. The new requirements of successive Codes resulted in an ever-increasing expenditure, which the School Boards, with their hands in the bottomless pockets of the ratepayers, could meet cheerfully enough, but which to the Voluntary schools meant ruin. In 1884 already more than a thousand Voluntary schools had given up the struggle and surrendered to the Boards, and there were few thoughtful men who did not look upon the disappearance of the whole denominational system as one of the certainties of the near future.

Herbert Vaughan ransacked the Blue Books and official reports, and took counsel with the Managers of the Catholic schools in his diocese, until he made himself master of the whole situation. He looked it steadily in the face. There was just one fact which brought hope and consolation. In all the thousand surrendered schools not one was a Catholic school. He knew that the Catholics of England represent an overwhelming share of the poverty and destitution of the country, and the fact that they had kept such a grip on their schools, that never one had been let go, filled him with gratitude and gladness. Mr. Gladstone, when the Act of 1870 was in the Committee stage, declared that the most difficult case to deal with was that

of the Roman Catholics—"Their children form probably a tenth, an eighth, or even a sixth of the educational destitution." The results of their exceptional poverty weighted the scales heavily against the Catholic schools. The Blue Book for 1883 showed that the Catholic schools had by far the largest percentage of free admissions—that is, of children who paid no fees on account of poverty. The proportion of free children in Wesleyan schools was ·84, in Church of England schools 2·64, in Board schools 4·16, and in Catholic 13·11. In the same way, and for the same reason, the smallest amount per child collected as school pence was in the Catholic schools. No teachers were so ill-paid as the teachers of the Catholic schools, and in none was so small a sum spent on educational apparatus.

Herbert Vaughan had little fear that his people would ever give up their schools; but as he came to understand the nature and the extent of the sacrifices demanded of them he was filled with pity and at the same time with a very definite resolve to bring them relief. And it must be remembered that every increase in the cost of education in the public elementary schools meant a double burden for the backs of the supporters of the Voluntary schools. They had at the same time to pay the whole additional cost of their own schools, and as ratepayers to share the expense of the Board schools. Finally, to complete the hardship, when the supporters of the Denominational cause had built a school, that very school was at once rated for the benefit of the rival Board schools.

The more the Bishop considered the question the more satisfied he became that it could not possibly continue. Under the growing pressure of the Department the

voluntary subscriptions to the Catholic schools had been forced up from £25,000 in 1870 to £66,000 in 1884. And he knew what that meant—he knew how these voluntary subscriptions were got. He knew that in his own diocese and in all the northern cities there were collections every week, from street to street and house to house, and he knew that working men were waylaid on Saturday nights—on wages nights—so that pence for the schools might be begged from the shillings they were taking to their wives. He knew that it was as certain as anything could be that the cost of the schools would go up, and how could his poor give more than they had done? Finally, from first to last Cardinal Vaughan resented, and with ever-deepening feeling, the false and hateful position into which the friends of the Voluntary schools were forced by being made to seem the consistent opponents of every educational advance. As the law then stood it was inevitable that men who cared for the cause of religious instruction in the schools should take up an attitude of mistrust towards all educational improvements, in so far as they had to ask themselves not only whether the proposed change was a good thing in itself, but also the further question—"Can we afford it?" It might be that a regulation requiring so many cubic feet per dozen children was desirable in itself; but what if that improvement were to be bought by the ruin of the religious education of the children? No true friend of education, whatever his views about religion, could in his heart justify a state of things which made it inevitable that questions affecting the health or comfort or educational interests of the children should necessarily be determined for tens of thousands of the people by considerations wholly foreign

to the questions at issue. Herbert Vaughan saw clearly that the supporters of the Voluntary schools must always be represented as, and seem to be, the enemies of progress until the inequalities of the law as it then existed were radically and finally redressed.

He soon came to the conclusion that a new and drastic departure must be made. Cardinal Manning had done an immense work for Catholic education in relation to Certified Poor Law, Industrial, and Reformatory schools, but he had no organisation to his hand fitted to make a direct appeal to the constituencies. He was still the eloquent defender of the right of parents to have definite dogmatic instruction for their children in the schools, but the Catholic body had no programme. Every year there was a demonstration in the St. James's Hall in defence of the Catholic schools, but though there was agreement as to the evil there was none as to the remedy. At the annual meeting of the Catholic Union in April, 1884, the Duke of Norfolk justified the passive attitude of that body on the ground that it was not clear to them or to the School Committee, or even to the Bishops, what the right remedy might be: "It is no doubt the duty as well as the wish of the Union to do all it can to forward the views of the whole Catholic body. We are all dissatisfied with the condition of affairs; but in no body of Catholics, I may say in no accidental meeting of twelve Catholics in a room, would you find a unanimous opinion as to a certain course of action which it would be right to take, and it is impossible for the Union to adopt a course which many of its members would look upon as unsafe." To end this chapter of uncertainties, and to replace hesitations and doubts by a definite programme which should have

all the Catholic forces of the kingdom at its back, was the first object which Herbert Vaughan now had in view.

And so came into being the Voluntary Schools Association. It was first established in the diocese of Salford, but the Bishop meant its branches to extend all over the country. Its programme, published in February, 1884, made a reasoned appeal for the support of every believer in the advantages of definite and dogmatic religious instruction in the schools. It is important to note its proposals for relief, because they held the germ of all that followed, and enable us to measure the success which crowned the campaign with which the name of Herbert Vaughan must always be associated. The fact that this militant organisation, the Voluntary Schools Association, began by asking, not equality, but a dole, is eloquent as to the feelings of depression and helplessness which then paralysed the efforts of the friends of the Denominational cause. The new organisation, instead of boldly claiming equality of treatment and reward, was content to ask that the amount of the grant should be raised 25 per cent. *all round.* And when a correspondent ventured to write to the *Tablet* to ask why all the public Elementary schools of the country should not be placed on a footing of absolute equality he was at once rebuked for his inconvenient boldness, and the Editor explained to him that it was "axiomatic" that if the whole cost of maintenance were borne by the public the whole of the management must be vested in the same hands. A little later we shall find Herbert Vaughan ready to question this or any other "axiom" which stood in the way of the right of the Voluntary schools to be

treated on the same footing as the Board schools. At the outset the Voluntary Schools Association was content to ask for an increased grant, and, in addition, to formulate a demand for the redress of four specific grievances.

As the law then stood the total annual grant, exclusive of any special grant, *i.e.*, grants gained under certain circumstances by assistant teachers, or by scholars who obtained honours certificates, or by the schools themselves by reason of sparseness of population, might not exceed the greater of two sums, a sum equal to 17s. 6d. for each unit of average attendance, or the total income of the school from all sources whatever other than the grant, and from any special grant given for scholars who might have won honours certificates. In more direct words, however well the school might do, when once the limit of 17s. 6d. per unit of average attendance had been reached, though additional money were merited and earned, it was nevertheless withheld, unless the school could point to an independent income of 17s. 6d. per unit of average attendance. No painstaking or success in the teaching, no care in the management, no excellence in the results, were allowed to atone for the unpardonable sin of poverty. It might have been supposed that a school which, in spite of narrow means and the difficulties which are born of them, had done superlatively well would have received some special and quite extra reward, but, instead, it was fined for being poor, and robbed even of the money it had earned—to encourage the others. Excellence in schools without respectable private incomes seemed to be regarded as a sort of impertinence, and was punished accordingly. The object of this strange regulation was well understood. It was only one of the many devices

by which successive Governments had tried to make voluntary subscriptions compulsory. It had occurred to some calculating bureaucrat that a school which obtained a grant on the highest scale might become comparatively independent of private contributions. The sum saved to the Treasury was trivial, but the resultant resentment on the part of those who found themselves robbed of the reward they had earned under circumstances of special difficulty did more than anything else to embitter the controversy. The Voluntary Schools Association now asked that this system should end.

Its second demand concerned parents who were too poor to pay the ordinary school fees for their children. In the case of "indigent" parents whose children attended the Board schools relief could be obtained in the first instance through the teachers, who, by means of "temporary orders," could remit the fees until the application could be made to the Board. Fees remitted by the Board were recouped out of the rates. Much harsher treatment was reserved for the "indigent" parents who sent their children to the Voluntary schools. In their case it was necessary to apply to the authorities of the workhouse, and to appear in person before the Board of Guardians. The Act declared that persons so applying should not on that account be considered paupers, but the visits to the offices of the Union were bitterly resented by the poor, who, in spite of all explanations, felt that in asking for a remission of their fees from the Guardians they were "going on the parish," and making a claim on the charity of the workhouse. Nor was it only a question of personal dignity or of the wasted time which was often involved in making application to the Guardians.

Parents who could apply for relief to the School Board went before men upon whose sympathy they could count beforehand. The main object and first thought of the members of the School Board, men elected *ad hoc*, was naturally, and rightly, to get as many children as possible into the schools. As an educational body they thought chiefly of getting the little waifs and strays away from the associations of the gutter and bringing them under the influence of the schoolmaster. If the payment of school fees was seen to be a difficulty, and to interfere with the regular attendance of the children, the fees were gladly dispensed with. The parents of children going to the Denominational schools could count on no such amiable prejudice in their favour. The Guardians were not an educational but an administrative body, and their first thought was not to gather as many of the little ones as possible into the schools, but only to keep down the rates—that was what they were for. It is not surprising, therefore, if sometimes they were inclined to scrutinise these applications for what they must have regarded as a sort of intellectual outdoor relief with considerable severity. The hardship no doubt varied in different localities and at different times, but speaking generally it may be safely said that the treatment of the two sets of schools was unequal and unjust. The Voluntary Schools Association asked for equality and equity.

A third grievance concerned the so-called "unnecessary schools." If a Board school had preoccupied a district, and had sufficient accommodation for all the children of the neighbourhood, no other school could be recognised or allowed to earn the Government grant. It sometimes happened that in a district in which a Board school had,

as it were, "pegged out a claim" a new Catholic school would find itself disqualified from earning the grant. The Catholic community asked no help from the rates towards their building fund; but when they had put up the school at their own cost, for their own children, and had done the work of the State by teaching them in accordance with the requirements of the Code, they contended that the State's work should receive the State's wage. In other words, the Voluntary Schools Association maintained that the only thing which could ever make a Catholic school "unnecessary" was the absence of Catholic children to fill it.

This grievance of the "unnecessary school" worked hardship in two ways. Sometimes it affected the subscribers to the Voluntary schools, and at others it hurt the children themselves. If a school had been built and was then refused the Government grant on the ground that it was unnecessary, because there were vacant places in the Board school, the trouble was only financial—the people who had built the school for the sake of their children's faith had also to maintain it. But it sometimes happened that the Catholics of a town, while ready and willing to build a school, yet felt unequal to the task of bearing the additional cost of maintaining it indefinitely. In such cases the school would remain unbuilt, and the Catholic children were the sufferers, being called upon to tramp long distances to the nearest Catholic school, if that were at all within reach. A case which attracted considerable attention about the time when Herbert Vaughan's new Association was first getting to work may serve as an instance. There was a question of building a new Catholic school in South Shields. If built, it would be

put up without cost to the ratepayers, and the Government grant earned by the children would be the same, whether they were taught in a school of their own or in a Board school. The thing that mattered, the hardship of the children, is made sufficiently clear by the following extract from the report of the speech of one of the members of the Board: "Mr. Marshall said he had been thirteen years at Tyne Dock, and during the ten years he had been in the habit of going up the Garden Walks every morning he had regularly met there poor little Catholic children plodding their way to St. Bede's School, and had seen them when the frost was crisping on their bare feet, and when they were drenched with rain. It was not a Christian feeling to try to debar these poor unfortunate children from having a school in their midst. The Board was not losing anything, and for charity's sake, and for the sake of liberty to their fellow-creatures, he asked them to reconsider their decision. Whether they did so or not, they would never get the Catholic children to go to the Board schools." By the casting vote of its Chairman the Board decided that the Catholic school at Tyne Dock was "unnecessary," and so, even if built by voluntary subscriptions, it would be ineligible for any Government grant.

A fourth demand related to the rating of the Denominational schools. It was bad enough that the supporters of the Voluntary schools should be forced to pay an education rate from the benefits of which they were excluded; but it seemed an unnecessary aggravation of the grievance that the Voluntary schools, themselves built by private funds for public use, should be rated for the support of the rival system. Here also the programme of the Voluntary Schools Association was equality.

It was a simple thing enough for Herbert Vaughan to get the new Association established in his own diocese, but he meant to see it rooted in every diocese, and its programme accepted as the avowed policy of all the friends of the Denominational cause throughout the country. Public meetings were held to inaugurate the new movement in town after town in the North and in the Midlands. An astonishing amount of spade-work was also done in the constituencies, and there were few candidates or members of Parliament who were not made familiar with the programme of the Association and invited to promise their support. The contagious example of its founder seemed to inspire the members of the Association, and within a very few months Herbert Vaughan had the satisfaction of knowing that the first part of the work he had undertaken was done, and that the Voluntary Schools Association was acknowledged as representing the whole body of the Catholics of England.

From the outset he had confidently counted on the sympathy and co-operation of Cardinal Manning, and he was not disappointed. In the April of 1884 the *Tablet* was able to say: "We are authorised to state that the subject of public Elementary education formed one of the chief topics at the meeting of the Bishops, and that their Lordships decided to establish an organisation throughout the country to spread information among the people on the Education question, and to form public opinion with a view to finding a remedy for the educational grievances of Catholics. The Voluntary Schools Association was the form of association adopted for the various dioceses, with a central council, for the purpose of securing unity of action, composed of representatives of the diocesan associ-

ations, to meet in London. This is the best news we have had to record for many a week, and we trust that this resolve of the Bishops of England to take the case of our schools resolutely and effectively in hand may mark the opening of a new and happier chapter in the history of the agitation."

Cardinal Manning's sanction at once gave the movement an official character which it might have been difficult for a Bishop in a provincial city to secure. The first meeting of the Central Council of the Voluntary Schools Association was held a month later at Cardinal Manning's house. All the Catholic forces were now united, and every effort was made to bring pressure upon members of Parliament and to induce the Government to reopen the so-called settlement of 1870 by appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the grievances of the Voluntary schools.

The first gleam of encouragement came in the form of a letter from Lord Randolph Churchill, then only at the beginning of his meteoric career. Writing to a correspondent in March, 1884, he said: "The time is at hand when our national system of education must be considered and dealt with by Parliament. I do not believe that people will tolerate much longer the rigour and injustice of the incidence of the expense of our present arrangements. I am of opinion that the cost of proper elementary education should be borne entirely by the State, and that all schools, whether Voluntary or Board schools, should be entitled to be paid in full from the Imperial taxes expenses incurred by them for the diffusion of the rudiments of knowledge." Then saying he would allow the parents complete freedom of selection

of the schools their children should attend, he concludes thus: "Let the Voluntary schools and the Board schools continue their efforts in the cause of national education, independently of and competing with each other, the State awarding to each with the utmost impartiality those pecuniary endowments which either may honestly and fairly earn." This letter represented an attitude towards the Education question which was so astonishingly in advance of the thought of the time, that it gave the greatest possible encouragement to the movement in favour of equality. "An equal wage for equal work" began to be a popular cry.

For his part, Herbert Vaughan, believing that the vital interests of religion were bound up with the welfare of the Denominational schools, did not hesitate to call upon his clergy to take an active part in the struggle. In October, 1885, he issued a circular to them in which he said: "The Public Elementary Schools question is one of deep religious interest. It is a question of life and death to the souls of millions. You will therefore be strictly within the sphere of your pastoral duties if, both in church and out of church, you do everything in your power to rouse your people to a sense of the vital importance of this question, and to induce them to use their civil and political rights wisely and firmly in its behalf." A month later the Catholic Bishops issued a series of resolutions. They protested against "the use of two measures in appraising the value of work done, and of instruction given, by the payment of at least double the amount of public money in rates and grant for secular instruction given in Board schools, while for secular instruction of the same kind and degree given in Volun-

tary schools not half that amount is given from the public revenue. We protest against this injustice not in itself only, but much more because it threatens the extinction of the Voluntary and Christian schools of the country." They dealt with the question of school fees in the following paragraph: "As the Legislature has made education compulsory upon certain, and those the poorer, classes, we hold that it is bound to make proper provision to meet not only the conscientious and religious difficulty, but the poverty also of those classes who are severally affected by that compulsory law; and we demand as an act of justice that parents who are known by school-managers to be too poor to pay for the education of their children, and who are yet compelled by law to send their children to primary schools, shall, upon due proof, be provided with the means of obeying that legal compulsion, without on the one hand submitting them to that sense of humiliation which they have suffered of late, or on the other hand, compelling them to use schools to which they conscientiously object." Finally the Bishops declared they could not trust any candidate who would not engage himself "to do his utmost to protect liberty of conscience and to redress the present glaring inequalities by providing for the just maintenance and multiplication of Christian and Voluntary schools as the growth of the people shall require."

On the eve of the elections in November, 1885, the agitation was carried on with redoubled vigour, and the pressure upon candidates, specially in the Lancashire constituencies, was continuous. It was hailed as a great concession when on the 11th of November Sir Richard Cross, in a speech at Widnes, announced that the Govern-

ment had decided "at once to appoint a Commission to inquire into the position of the Voluntary schools and the operation of the Act. He felt that those schools were at present under a great disadvantage and ought to be placed in the same position as the Board schools in this as in other matters. The Conservatives were determined there should be an inquiry into the whole subject, and immediately the inquiry had taken place the proper remedies should be put into effect, and the Government would be prepared to introduce a measure dealing with the subject if the inquiry showed it to be necessary."

The appointment of a Royal Commission was received with jubilation. The Voluntary Schools Association had got what it demanded, but the demand was a mistake. There was no need to inquire into the well known ; and what was accepted as the prelude to relief proved an anodyne. The most impatient had to acquiesce when reminded that the questions at issue were being carefully investigated ; and in that simple way the whole agitation was successfully "side-tracked" for years. The Commission was appointed in January, 1886, with Sir Richard Cross as its chairman and Cardinal Manning among its members. It sat for two years and issued ten volumes of Reports, but the final one had five reservations, and there was besides a Minority Report signed by eight out of the twenty-three Commissioners. The Majority Report was strongly in favour of the contentions of the friends of the Voluntary schools and declared there was no reason why they should not receive assistance from the rates "in respect of their secular efficiency." But the Government, with much show of reason, claimed time to consider in all their bearings the recommendations of so important a

Commission, and they took it. Nothing was done for years afterwards.

The first practical relief to the Catholic schools came from a wholly unexpected quarter. It might have been supposed that the Catholics, by reason of the poverty of their community, would from the first have been eager advocates of free education. In fact, they were for years its most strenuous opponents. They saw in it the way to the destruction of their schools. The leaders of the Denominational party had so allowed themselves to be cowed by their opponents that they almost took it for granted that if school fees were abolished the relief would be confined to the Board schools. At the time when Herbert Vaughan's organisation was started Mr. Jesse Collings was waiting to bring in a motion in the House of Commons to that effect. Under the stress of this fear many Catholics strongly opposed "free schools" and insisted that it was a parent's natural duty, if he could afford it, to pay for the education of his children. Here, as elsewhere, the paramount desire was to secure equality between the two sets of schools, and until it was certain that the principle of free education would be applied impartially it was necessarily repudiated. Speaking on this subject in November, 1885, Bishop Vaughan said: "You will be told that it means 'gratuitous' education, but this is a misnomer and misleading; the State can give nothing really gratuitously—it must increase the rates and taxes whatever it pretends to give; the people in the end must pay; and in this case, instead of a parent paying school fees for the five or six years of his child's education, he will have to go on paying an additional rate or tax during the whole of his life. You may now fairly

inquire, 'What, then, do I ask for?' And I reply, 'Let those who are unable to pay the fees for the compulsory education of their children be properly relieved by the State.' In the diocese of Salford, out of 37,000 children on the registers, about one-third are too poor to pay without hardship. Then let the school managers say who ought to be paid for by the State, and let inspectors, if need be, test the accuracy of their judgment. Cease from making the payments of fees a degradation by sending the parents, with loss of often two or three days' work, to the Board of Guardians of the Poor. School Board children are not treated thus; why should not ours be treated as they are?"

Happily from the first there were many who cared for free education apart altogether from the question whether or not it could be used as a weapon against the Voluntary schools. And there were others who would have liked to harm the Voluntary schools, but saw that relief from school pence would be difficult to gain unless it were granted equally to all. In the famous article on education which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1884, and was afterwards reprinted as part of *The Radical Programme*, the writer said: "The Denominational schools, entrenched behind their new subsidies, continue to be what they have always been in the past—the greatest obstruction to efficient national education. . . . On many grounds it would be deplorable that their position should be strengthened. The forcible transfer of the Voluntary schools is not to be looked for until the Radical Party is able to make its own terms." The writer, however, quicker than most of the champions of the Denominational schools, judged the situation

rightly, and saw that all the public Elementary schools would have to be treated alike unless the reform were to be indefinitely postponed.

When once this began to be generally recognised there was a swift revulsion of feeling among Catholics, and the old individualistic arguments about the duties of parents were heard less frequently, so that when in November, 1899, Lord Salisbury, in a speech at Nottingham, publicly declared in favour of "free schools," or, as he preferred to call it, "assisted education," Herbert Vaughan's organ, forgetful of its old hesitations, welcomed the proposed change in these words: "We hasten to congratulate the Prime Minister upon his firm, brave, and most uncompromising words about the value of the Denominational schools of the country. In the days when 'free schools' was a foremost cry of the Radical Party it was understood to mean free Board schools only, and was cared for chiefly as a means of starving into surrender their Voluntary rivals. On the lips of Lord Salisbury the phrase has no such sinister significance. With excellent explicitness he told his listeners at Nottingham that 'free' education must be so conducted as not to diminish in the slightest degree the guarantee we now possess for religious liberty as expressed by the Voluntary schools. If it were to suppress the Voluntary schools free education would be not a blessing but a curse."

Again, when in the debate on the Address in the following year it was made clear that the Government meant to redeem Lord Salisbury's pledge in the near future, the *Tablet* commented thus: "The Debate on Free Education accentuates in a very striking way the enormous distance which public opinion has travelled, or drifted,

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in a few years. The solitary figure of Sir Richard Temple, as he stood there declaiming against the principle of Free Education, struck the House less as a sort of Worcestershire Athanasius against the World, than as a convenient milestone marking the spot where most of them had once stood."

That the old feeling of dislike and distrust did not die out all at once appears from the fact that in June, 1891, when the Bill for freeing the schools had already passed its second reading, a deputation from the Catholic School Committee, consisting of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Herries, Mgr. Gilbert, and others, waited on Lord Cranbrook at the Privy Council Office, and presented a series of resolutions, the first of which ran thus: "That this Committee cannot approve of the principle of Free Education under which all parents, without distinction, are relieved from the duty of paying for the education of their children; but do not oppose the Bill in so far as it leaves Denominational schools in the same free position they have hitherto occupied." The *Tablet*, on the other hand, heartily supported the Bill, and in doing so certainly represented the views of Dr. Vaughan. "As a matter of practical politics, let us look this thing steadily and straight in the eyes. Do those who, up and down the country, choose this time for condemning the principle of Free Education mean their action to have no political consequence? Do they seriously want the Government to abandon the Bill, and drop the question of Free Schools altogether? If they do, have they thought what that means? It means that the question would just be hung up for awhile, a few years or a few months, and then be used by a Radical Government for the final

ruin of the Voluntary system. The weapon of Free Education stands crammed to the muzzle, and the only question is whether it shall be so directed now that it will leave our schools unharmed, or, with the next turn of the political wheel, it shall be aimed with murderous precision straight into our own ranks? If we were still free to choose we should yield to none in opposing the principle of Free Education, but that is not the question; the choice now is narrowed, and is only this—whether Free Education shall come from friends or from those who will use it to realise their dream of universal Board schools. It is as certain as anything can be, that if the present opportunity of settling the question is let go by, in the hands of a Radical Government the principle of Free Schools will come, and come accompanied by the control of the ratepayers."[1]

An Act passed in 1891 provided an annual grant of 10s. to all public Elementary schools for each child in average attendance between three and fifteen years of age on condition that no fee should be charged for such children, except where the average rate of fees had exceeded 10s. a year, and then the reduced fee and the fee grant together should not exceed the former rate. As might have been expected, the Catholic schools, as the poorest, benefited the most from the fee grant. In the case of the Wesleyan schools the 10s. fee grant came as a contribution towards an average of 16s. 1d.; in the case of Church of England schools as a contribution towards an average

[1] As subsequent events showed, the sort of control on the part of the ratepayers which was feared was control over the only thing which could endanger the Catholic character of the schools—the right to appoint the teachers. It was always anticipated that rate aid would be accompanied by the financial control of the ratepayers.

fee of 10s. 7d.; in the case of the British schools, towards an average of 13s. 2d.; while in the case of the Catholic schools the new grant of 10s. came in substitution for an average of 9s. 5d. Even among the Catholic schools the operation of the Act was very unequal. Thus in the diocese of Newport, where the average fee was only 5s. 6d., the new grant brought substantial help, but in the North of England, where, as a rule, the fees were higher than in the South, the managers of the Denominational schools saw that they would be faced with a loss, unless they continued to charge fees in the cases in which the Act still allowed this to be done. In the diocese of Salford Bishop Vaughan calculated that if all the schools were freed unconditionally the managers would have to find an additional £3,000 a year, while the parents and guardians of the children would be relieved to the extent of £15,000. A happy and very general result of the Act was that by relieving poor parents it greatly increased the average attendance. In one large school in Lancashire, which the managers had declared "free," with a prospective loss of £200 a year in fee money, the average attendance rose to such an extent than the anticipated loss was turned into a profit. Speaking generally, there can be no doubt that relatively the Catholic schools were largely benefited by the Act of 1891. But the relief was soon seen to be insufficient, for the cost of education continued to grow as the requirements of the Department in regard to buildings, staff, and apparatus became, year after year, more exacting.

Meanwhile, Catholic opinion had been steadily setting in the direction of a policy which rested on the broad

principle of equality as far as the maintenence or the ordinary working expenses of the schools was concerned. The progress in that direction was steady, but it had periodical set-backs. Thus in the summer of 1887 Canon Brownlow, afterwards Bishop of Clifton, had advocated in the *Tablet* an allocation of part of the Education Rate for the support of the Voluntary schools. Looked at in the light of after-events, and the policy successfully urged by Cardinal Vaughan, Canon Brownlow's proposals seem almost timid, but they were thought shockingly bold at the time. He said:—

"I do not intend by this to imply that the Voluntary schools shall receive exactly the same proportion of the rates as the Board school, because the Board school is, apart from the Government grant, entirely dependent upon the rates, whereas the Voluntary schools have other sources of income, but that the claim of each Voluntary school to a certain proportion of the rates should be recognised as a right established by statute."

A reply was soon forthcoming, and from the pen of Mr. Scott Nasmyth Stokes, then the Senior Inspector of Schools. There was no one whose opinion at that time carried more weight in Catholic circles, and Mr. Stokes uttered his warning thus: "There is but one argument of potency for general use. The Voluntary schools are cheaper than rate-aided schools; the managers for their own purposes make sacrifices to keep up their schools; they are content with a lower contribution from the public purse; and as the work is tested and approved, the Voluntary schools relieve rates and confer a benefit upon all ratepayers without injury to the children. The force of this argument is appreciated by the average British

householder; is it prudent, is it becoming, to fling it to the winds by asking that Voluntary schools should be made as costly to the public as rate-aided schools? But in the unlikely case that Parliament in an access of generosity should offer to raise the public contributions to Voluntary schools until they equalled the payments to rate-aided schools, could such an offer be safely accepted? Future events must ever be doubtful, but few predictions could be more certain of fulfilment than that on the day when Voluntary managers give up voluntary subscriptions and take their support wholly from public sources, they will sell the invaluable rights of management they now enjoy."

The Bishop of Salford read this article in his own paper with sincere regret. A few days afterwards I had an opportunity of talking the question over with him. Of Mr. Stokes he spoke with inevitable respect. He recognised Mr. Stokes's high character, his intimate knowledge of the question at issue, and his zeal for the Catholic cause, but, not the less, thought that he ignored the governing factor in the situation. Mr. Stokes could interpret the mind of the Department, but a Lancashire Bishop had a truer knowledge of the thing that mattered, the temper and steadfastness of Catholic parents. I can still recall the tone of confidence and conviction with which he said, "*There have got to be Catholic schools—for this reason, that Catholic children will not go to any others.*" That slowly reached but settled belief lay at the root of all his subsequent action in relation to the schools. All through the years that followed, in any time of crisis, and in answer to any threat, he would use this simple formula, "Catholic children will go to Catholic schools—or nowhere." For him that thought was decisive. It

governed the whole situation and made such a statement as that of the writer of *The Radical Programme*, that the Voluntary schools "were doomed to extinction, painless or otherwise," the idlest of predictions. He was satisfied that the Catholic schools represented a public necessity and believed it was beyond the power of any Government seriously to imperil them. The only question was whether the Catholic body was to be subjected to a penal fine in regard to education—whether, having built their own schools, they were still to pay a double school tax—as their forefathers had paid a double land tax—for conscience' sake. But before the campaign in favour of educational equality could be carried to a further stage Herbert Vaughan was called to Westminster.

When he came to Westminster the Voluntary Schools Association had been in existence for seven years. Some notable results had been achieved, but not one of the reforms specifically asked for had at that time been placed on the Statute Book. Some relief had come from the freeing of the schools, but the increasing cost of education had again brought a position of difficulty and strain. But the situation was far more hopeful than when Herbert Vaughan had begun the campaign in Salford. The old helpless, fatalistic feeling that the disappearance of the Denominational schools was inevitable had quite disappeared. The Catholic leaders were no longer content to ask for a further dole for their schools—they asked, instead, that all those giving the instruction required by the State, under the conditions imposed by the State, should be treated alike. The goal of equality was in sight, and now was being definitely aimed at.

Almost immediately after his arrival in Westminster as Archbishop he presided at a meeting of the Bishops specially called to consider the position of the Voluntary schools. The *Tablet* thus stated the position: "Men on all sides are recognising that the dual system established in 1870 cannot go on much longer. The pace, already too fast, is being savagely pressed, and the Voluntary schools are everywhere losing ground. Without taking count of the Denominational schools which have simply closed, no less than 1,200 have surrendered, and let themselves be transferred to the School Boards. Of these, 850 belonged to the Establishment; while it is a matter of legitimate congratulation and pride that up to the present hour not one Catholic school in any part of the land has been let go. Every other religious body has seen its schools captured by the score, but the Church of the poor, the Church with the scantiest resources and the worst-paid teachers, has held her own, and never yielded a single prize to the conquering School Boards. Thus far for the Catholic wing the fight has been glorious and not disastrous, but there is great reason to believe that the whole Denominational army is being gradually forced into a thoroughly indefensible position."

The Catholic Bishops under Cardinal Vaughan's leadership called for a fair share of the rates as the only remedy. Almost simultaneously the Archbishop of Canterbury was denouncing a share of the rates as "a most dangerous possession." He spoke of it as a "disastrous and a dangerous remedy," and so with one scornful sentence dismissed "what now calls itself a policy." On the other hand the Council of the National Society in July of the same year passed a resolution

almost identical with that of the Catholic Bishops. At a great meeting held in Preston in September, 1894, the late Mr. Hanbury, then one of the Members for the town, after thanking the Catholic citizens for the "glorious lead they had given to others," went on to express a hope that Catholics and Anglicans would often be found on a common platform fighting for a common cause. There was nothing which Cardinal Vaughan desired more earnestly than a loyal co-operation with the Church of England. Neither as Bishop nor as Cardinal did he at any time care to think of the Catholic schools as apart from the general denominational cause. As he once said: "The Catholic schools may be the iron head to the spear, but the iron head will make but a poor weapon unless it have the weight of the wooden shaft behind it." Time after time he resisted suggestions which offered separate treatment for the Catholic schools as the price of an alliance against the schools of the Establishment. The basis of these proposals may be found in the following words of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission: "The mass of the Protestant population of this country do not desire to see the minor differences among the various denominations emphasised in the Elementary schools. The one exception is the Roman Catholics. They are unwilling to go to other schools when they can have their own, and their schools are rarely used, and mainly for want of accommodation, by Protestants." Cardinal Vaughan recognised the element of truth which underlay this statement. But he knew also that there were tens of thousands among the members of the Church of England who did earnestly desire for their children definite dogmatic teaching in

the schools. He was resolved, therefore, never to be a party to any arrangement which could make more difficult the position of those who were fighting the battle of the Denominational cause within the Establishment.

Unfortunately, controversies between the two Churches were then acute, and the dispute about Anglican Orders caused strained relations at a time when a good understanding was most desirable. At the very time when the Unionist triumph at the polls in 1894 seemed to open the way to a lasting settlement, Cardinal Vaughan found himself isolated, because the Anglican leaders had suddenly decided to retire from the fighting-line. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Anglican leaders held back when Cardinal Vaughan went on. A decisive step was taken when the *Tablet* for the first time repudiated the term "Voluntary school." In August, 1895, the *Westminster Gazette* pointed out that only three-tenths of the cost of maintenance in the Voluntary schools was then defrayed by private subscriptions. The Liberal journal went on to ask with some scorn by what right these were called Voluntary. The *Tablet* answered: "So far from being depressed by the fact that only three-tenths of the maintenance of the public denominational schools is met by private subscriptions, we should be delighted if such appeals to charity could disappear altogether, and we were in a position to forfeit for ever all claim to speak of our schools as Voluntary. We maintain that parents who demand a denominational education for the little ones around their knees have exactly the same rights, and precisely the same claim for State aid, as those other parents who prefer for their children a purely secular education. There is no magic

about the word 'Voluntary'—rather it stands for a religious disability which has been endured too long. The epithet was none of our choosing; it simply represents a fact and records an historic injustice. It reminds us that while those favoured parents who wanted for their children an education divorced from definite religious teaching could get it wholly at the public cost, the less fortunate people who desired their children to have definite religious teaching in the schools have had to depend largely upon the charity and generosity of private individuals. That sort of State favouritism is doomed; and the Unionist Party has come to power pledged to the eyes to make an end of this monstrous and unfair discrimination between the two classes of parents—those who desire and those who reject denominational education for their children. And when the thing has gone the name may go with it."

A few days later, on September 30, 1895, the Cardinal sent a letter to the *Times* over his own name in which he boldly urged that voluntary subscriptions for the support of the public Elementary schools ought to cease. "Has not the time come to deal with the education problem, not by a tinkering legislation as heretofore, but by the adoption of a comprehensive policy, which shall place the whole of the elementary education of the country upon a common basis, which shall as far as possible end or minimise all grievances? The Church of England and the Catholic Church have no doubt made immense sacrifices, which must be taken as proofs of sincerity; but I see no just reason why they should profess anxiety to continue these sacrifices, while education has become a recognised legal public right, to be had at the expense of the State. It is said that these alms will conciliate the goodwill of the Legislature as effecting

a public financial economy ; but the friends of Denominational education are not a minority pleading for their life, but a majority. And I submit that they ought, without hesitation or apology, to demand a full measure of justice, and not to pray and pay for mercy. If the national life is to be based on just principles, it is far better to fight to get them clearly defined at the outset than to run the risk of muddling the public mind for ever in order to gain some present temporary expedient. When we have bought sites and built schools, and are ready to carry on their management to the satisfaction of the State, without any charge for officials, secretaries, offices, legal expenses, &c., the claim for equality in payment for the actual education (the 'maintenance') is transparently moderate and equitable. The basis of a popular system of national education will never be satisfactorily laid until religion ceases to be a bar to equality of treatment in the matter of State payment for elementary and compulsory education."

Commenting on this letter, the *Times* said: "We welcome Cardinal Vaughan's letter as the first important sign that action will be taken on a matter which is of grave concern. We have, as he says, repeatedly urged on the friends of Denominational schools the necessity for coming to a common agreement, and he carries our advice a step further by suggesting the basis for an agreement. It is one which the friends of denominational education can hardly fail to accept as fair and satisfactory. How it is to be carried out in detail Cardinal Vaughan does not distinctly show. The plan which he appears to favour is a system under which schools of all classes would receive aid from the rates in proportion to the number

of children whom they are educating. Such a system seems fair towards ratepayers of every description. Those who send their children to Denominational schools may be taken as willing that what they pay as school rates should be applied to the maintenance of the kind of schools which they prefer, while non-denominational Board schools would continue to be maintained by non-denominational ratepayers and parents. Whether this or some other plan is finally accepted is a matter of comparative indifference. The essential point is that the object aimed at shall be attained and that the friends of denominational education shall not be subjected to the very heavy financial burden which they are at present compelled to bear. They are not, as Cardinal Vaughan justly remarks, a minority pleading for their life ; they are a majority, and as such are entitled to demand a full measure of justice."

Again, in November of the same year, the Cardinal, this time acting with the Duke of Norfolk as the Chairman of the Catholic School Committee, presented a memorial to the late Lord Salisbury. It was marked by the same clear thinking and direct expression which characterised all the Cardinal's utterances on the School question :—

"We ask for no palliatives, but for a substantial remedy to a great English wrong that has sprung up and covered the land within the last twenty-five years. Your Lordship and the Cabinet cannot be aware how painfully Catholics are frequently compelled, especially in the North of England, to spend many hours of Saturday and Sunday in every week of the year, in the streets, gathering pence for the support of their schools from working

men who can ill afford this additional tax upon their wages. We must add that these voluntary contributions, or alms, have now become a sign of religious disability, and are paid as a penalty for conscience' sake. A further and inevitable result of two scales of payment for the same public service is that our schools are often starved, our teachers underpaid, our pupil teachers overworked, and our apparatus inferior, as compared with Board schools, while the private resources which might have been spent on the improvement of buildings are absorbed in meeting expenses that ought to be borne by the State. In spite of this the Blue Books show that the Catholic schools have surpassed the Board schools throughout England in the results obtained on examination of their lower standards in elementary subjects. But we may ask, Have not the children who attend Denominational schools as good a right to receive a full payment for their education from the State as the children who attend Board schools? Are they not all equal in the eyes of the State? Or, is the fact that Christian parents desire their children to receive instruction in definite Christianity to brand their school with a mark of inferiority and a penalty of diminished payment for secular instruction, labelling it charity school, supported by voluntary contributions?"

Unfortunately just at this time, on the 29th of November, 1895, an important deputation representing the Church of England waited on the Prime Minister and presented a memorial signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in which they declared that "it was not their wish to ask the Government to relieve Churchmen of the sacrifices which they have

always made, and are still making, for the schools." And the Archbishop of Canterbury enforced this declaration in a speech reported in the *Times* as follows: "They did not want at all to reduce their subscriptions; no one could seriously think they did. They were willing even to have a certain proportion of subscriptions insisted upon as a condition of grants; but no one could seriously think that they had any idea of diminishing, or wishing to diminish, the subscriptions of the Church of England."

The division in the ranks of the friends of the Denominational schools which these words revealed was a sorry prelude to the legislation which it was known the Government was about to take in hand. Cardinal Vaughan was determined that at any rate there should be no ambiguity about the Catholic position. He at once called an extraordinary meeting of the Catholic Bishops, and then issued *A Further Declaration on the Education Question.* After citing the terms of the Anglican memorial and the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the *Further Declaration* said: "We therefore are bound to make this grave statement: while offering no objection to the work of supererogation, which the great wealth of the Anglican Church enables the Archbishops to undertake on its behalf, namely, to promise an annual largess of over £600,000 (representing, at 3 per cent., a capital of £20,000,000) towards maintenance in their public Elementary schools, Catholics are wholly unable to act with a like generosity; but in their poverty they must be content to stand upon the common ground of justice and equity, and to demand, at least for themselves, that the law shall declare that the same payment shall be made for secular instruction given in their public

Elementary schools as for that given in Board schools. The suggestion by the President of the Council, in reply to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that any additional grant will be made contingent upon a continuance of the promised private subscriptions, implies the application, on a wider and more disastrous scale, of the principle which forms the grievance in the 17s. 6d. limit. We must therefore be permitted to dissociate the Catholic cause from the position taken up by the great Anglican Deputation, and to point out that for the larger number of Catholic schools it is impossible to ensure continued voluntary contributions in any fixed proportion ; and that, in addition to the impossibility of undertaking to pay an oppressive pecuniary penalty for conscience' sake, the absolute injustice of such an imposition, if pressed upon unwilling shoulders, would be a positive bar to our acceptance of it."

The Cardinal's justification for the position he had taken up was simple and sufficient. At the moment when the Anglican Archbishops were proclaiming their readiness to continue to find voluntary subscriptions, and Herbert Vaughan was saying bluntly that Catholic subscriptions must and would dry up, the Board schools were receiving from the rates 19s. for every child, for which the Voluntary schools had no equivalent. Instead of the 19s. per child from the rates, which the supporters of both sets of schools had to pay, the Voluntary schools could count on an average of 6s. 2d. per child from voluntary subscriptions. The Voluntary schools had to do without the balance of 12s., and their teachers worked for lower salaries. In the Catholic schools the salaries paid to the teachers were at that time 13s. per child less than the

salaries paid for precisely the same work in Board schools. Even these starvation wages were uncertain, and in many cases dependent upon the attractions of jumble sales or ping-pong matches, or the success of the Managers in arranging concerts or bazaars. And this discrimination against the teachers in the Voluntary schools was avowedly based on the fact that one extra subject was taught—definite dogmatic instruction was given to those children whose parents desired it for them.

In the Cardinal's eyes this was not a privilege, but a right that had been bought—a right that had been ransomed ten times over by the millions which for the sake of it had been spent on the purchase of school sites and buildings. In the course of twenty-four years the School Boards had spent on sites and buildings and other capital charges £37,000,000 sterling and another £6,000,000 on administration. The Voluntary schools, teaching the majority of the children of the people, had spent the equivalent for these £43,000,000 in providing the same things and without costing the ratepayers a sixpence.

And it was impossible not to know that while the supporters of the Voluntary schools had paid this tremendous fine for conscience' sake others were getting in the schools built at the public expense just the sort of religious instruction they desired. To quote the words of Cardinal Vaughan: "Who paid for the Bible teaching, for the psalms, hymns, and prayers—the religious education—in the Board schools? Did the gentlemen who sat on the Boards put their hands in their pockets or make a collection for the purpose? Nothing of the sort happened; the religious instruction which happened to

suit the Nonconformist was given entirely at the public cost." The Cardinal was satisfied that no settlement of the School question could be permanent which was not based on the bedrock principle of equality—equality of educational opportunity for all the children of the nation. He saw there could never be equality so long as the Denominational schools were dependent even for their daily working expenses on private subscriptions. The refusal of the Anglican Archbishops to stand in line with him was a bad disappointment. He knew that defection was fatal to his hopes, at least for the immediate future.

It is unnecessary to consider in detail either the abortive Bill of 1896 or the Bill which became law in 1897. It was certain beforehand that there would be no recognition of the essential equality of all the public Elementary schools. The policy of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury had made that certain. No Government could well give more than was asked. The Cardinal accepted the relief offered by the Act of 1897 as something "on account" or as an "interim dividend," but without any thought of finality. His feelings were accurately reflected in the following comment in his own journal: "We must get down to the bedrock of principle if we hope for any enduring settlement. Short of that admitted equality, short of that acknowledgment that equal work deserves an equal wage, whether the work be done in the Board or in the Voluntary schools, every new concession must be accepted merely as a new vantage-ground for a fresh agitation. We want to get rid of the reproach that our schools are charity schools, dependent upon casual alms; we want to have done with the whole sorry and degrading business which makes the salaries

of the teachers in the Denominational schools hang upon the success of this or that grinning comedian, or upon the pious audacity of the promoter of some fraudulent bazaar. The necessity for such degrading expedients must end, and never again must our priests, dividing the streets of some northern city between them, have to go begging on Saturday nights to induce labouring men and women to give of their hard earnings to save the schools. A free education has been declared by Parliament to be the birthright of every English child, and yet the managers of our Catholic public Elementary schools are driven with the one hand to snatch at the hard earnings of the poor and with the other to hire the antics of some friendly acrobat as an excuse for taking shillings at a bazaar or charity tea. And the sole reason for this disability, for this denial of the common right of free education, is that the Catholic school managers desire at their own expense to teach one extra subject—religion. It was to remove this wicked and absurd anomaly that the present Government was returned to power. Our duty now is to assist them to fulfil their promise."

But though the Act of 1897 failed to admit the principle of equality it gave a further dole of 5s. per child to the Voluntary schools, thus offering approximately £600,000 for the equivalent of £2,000,000 which the Board schools drew from the rates. It was welcome to Cardinal Vaughan also for the relief it gave in regard to two grievances which had figured prominently in the old programme of the Voluntary Schools Association: the 17s. 6d. limit was abolished and the rating of the Voluntary schools buildings was abandoned. The Act of 1897 brought some relief, but it rested on no principle. The

Cardinal saw the work must go on. He knew his own time was short, but he had a great confidence that sooner or later the English public would come to understand the essential unfairness of a system which had placed a double burden on the backs of the supporters of the Voluntary schools. For his own part he meant never to cease his efforts until the goal of equality was reached.

It was nearer than he knew. A circular that was issued by the Education Department in the spring of 1899 did much to strengthen him in his conviction that it was useless to try to find any sort of half-way house, or to stop at any point short of absolute equality in all that regarded the maintenance of the two separate sets of schools. When the Act of 1897 was still before the House of Commons persistent efforts were made to induce the Government to let the new grant in aid be dependent upon there being no falling off in the volume of the voluntary subscriptions. It was a suggestion that the Government should try to secure voluntary subscriptions by compulsion. It recalled the legend of the schoolmaster who, addressing a small boy, said, "I *will* have you cheerful and contented, even if I have to stand over you and flog you for the rest of the afternoon." The proposal would have required the State to say in effect to the private benefactor of a Voluntary school, "Because you have contributed generously and unselfishly in the past, I insist that you shall continue to contribute for ever; if you do not, your generosity in the past shall be the precise measure of the punishment which shall be inflicted on the schools in the future."

Moreover, to enact that the new aid grant should be refused in cases in which there had been a falling

off of private subscriptions would clearly have been to put back upon the Statute Book the very principle which, in the case of the 17s. 6d. limit, the Government was abolishing by the Bill. It would have condemned many a struggling Voluntary school to play a sort of desperate game of double or quits—for the death or misfortune of a single benefactor might entail the loss not only of his subscription, but of the extra grant as well. But Mr. Balfour, while declining to make any hard or fast rule, allowed the following words to appear in the clause which laid down the conditions under which the aid grant was distributed—"due regard being had to the maintenance of voluntary subscriptions." When the Act was passed the inevitable happened—the pressure of the thumbscrew which had produced the subscriptions being slightly relaxed, naturally they declined. The more visible the peril, or the inadequacy, of a Voluntary school, the easier it was to collect money for it, and the difficulty at once increased as soon as the urgency of the distress diminished. The Department, therefore, found it necessary to issue a circular on the subject, which the Cardinal welcomed at the time because it seemed to be a *reductio ad absurdum:* "In the case of those schools where, after due warning, voluntary contributions are not forthcoming, or are less than might be reasonably expected, it will be the duty of the governing body to reduce the amount of the grant, or even to withhold it altogether. . . . While on this subject my Lords may remark that where local support shows diminution this seems often to be brought about less by a loss of individual subscriptions than by a relaxation or diversion of local effort in the form of collections, bazaars, entertainments, and the like." In the

Cardinal's opinion this circular was the writing on the wall which proclaimed the doom of the whole system. He thought it was not possible that the support of the public Elementary schools of the majority of the children of the people could be left to rest permanently on a basis of bazaars.

The General Election in the following year, 1900, gave an opportunity of again bringing the Schools question to the front. The Catholic Bishops held a meeting and once more formulated a series of resolutions. In the forefront of their demands was the claim that all the public Elementary schools of the country should receive an equal wage for equal service. The Cardinal in sending the resolutions to the clergy said: "It is desirable that they should be brought before the Catholic voters and to the candidates who seek their support." The *Tablet* put the dots on the i's: "Ordinary gratitude requires that at a time like the present the Catholics of this country should be mindful that they owe it to Lord Salisbury's Government that a new aid grant of 5s. for every child is now paid every year to the Voluntary schools; that the hateful 17s. 6d. limit, which fined the poverty of our schools, has been abolished, and that our schools have been relieved for ever from the old crippling obligation to contribute to the local rates. If gratitude counts for anything in public affairs, if a political party appealing to the people is to be judged by its record in the past, the Conservative Party would seem to have a supreme claim upon the allegiance of the Catholic elector."

In justification for this appeal in behalf of the Unionist Party the Catholic organ could point to a leaflet on the

Education question which was sent broadcast over the country from the Conservative Central Office. This leaflet described the Act of 1897 as an "instalment of justice," and then went on to give figures showing the extraordinary extent to which the Board schools were favoured financially, though the Voluntary schools taught more children and had been erected without cost to the ratepayers. The electors were reminded that in 1896 a total sum of £13,775,992 was raised and paid for elementary education in England and Wales in the form of loans, or grants, or rates: "Of this sum £10,099,966 was paid over to Board schools which were educating 2,072,911 children, whilst Voluntary schools, which were educating 2,481,254 children, received only £3,676,926. That is to say, the Board schools received in one year £6,400,000 more of the ratepayers' and taxpayers' money than was granted to Voluntary schools, notwithstanding that 400,000 fewer children were educated in Board schools. And all that Voluntary schools received in the year 1898 as a set-off to these millions was the comparatively small sum of £617,286."

The election took place in October, and when the result became known Cardinal Vaughan felt that the cause for equality in the schools was safe, and this time beyond the possibility of peril. The *Tablet* said: "The single thing we want is equality of educational opportunity for all parents, whether they value definite religious instruction or not. Catholic and Anglican and Nonconformist, we all pay taxes and we all pay rates; and why should those who prize religious education, who have already saved the State millions in bricks and mortar, be forced to pay an extra fine to get for their children

their full share in the common secular instruction of the Elementary schools? The State already pays five-sevenths of the cost ; what we ask for now, and it is the price of educational peace, is that the State should pay the other two-sevenths—that it should see that no public Elementary school should be dependent for its efficiency upon casual charity, and so abolish the compulsion by which 'voluntary' subscriptions are generated."

A few months later, in June, 1901, the Cardinal issued a letter to his flock, in which he said : " Changes are taking place in legislation, which we are watching most carefully. The Catholic Hierarchy sounded a note some years ago, which seemed at the time to be out of tune. It has since become widely recognised as the true and only equitable policy, namely, that public elementary education shall cease to be eleemosynary, and that the whole cost of maintenance shall be defrayed by the State."

The Bill introduced in 1901 was in the right direction, but the Cardinal rejoiced when it was withdrawn ; he saw that something simpler and bolder, something which carried with it the simplicity and finality of equality, was at hand. The Bill of the following year was welcomed at the outset because it placed all the public Elementary schools under the local authorities, and for the first time recognised that for their maintenance or ordinary working expenses the Board schools and Voluntary schools had the same claim for support. The Cardinal's organ said : " The assertion of this great principle of the fundamental equality of all the public Elementary schools of the country is a matter of such far-reaching consequence that it dwarfs all the details of the Bill. It means that the day of involuntary subscriptions is over, and that

all the schools will be the common care of the local authorities. There is room for difference of opinion about many of the details of the measure, and important work will have to be done when the Bill gets into the Committee stage, but its main purpose is unassailable. There is no getting away from the fact which governs the whole situation. Fourteen thousand schools teaching three million children are being starved financially, and so cannot do their work properly. If we care for popular education at all we must make up our minds without more ado that these thousands of starved schools must be either mended or ended. They cannot be ended, and the alternative is the remedy embodied in the Government Bill. Happily the facts are not in dispute. The Board schools, in addition to the Exchequer grants, raise from the rates £1 5s. 6d. per child. The Voluntary schools, when due allowance has been made for the aid grant and private subscriptions, have to do the same work for 15s. less per child. It cannot be done—and three million children are the sufferers. These three million children, the majority of the children in the public Elementary schools, have to put up not only with inferior buildings and poorer equipment, but with fewer teachers, and these teachers are at the same time less qualified for their posts and condemned to do more work for less money. In the Board schools more than half the instructors are fully qualified certificated teachers, while in the Voluntary schools the percentage is only 38. In Board schools there is a certified teacher for every 76 children; in the Voluntary schools the proportion is only one to 103. In Board schools the payment to the teaching staff is 45s. 2d. per child; in Voluntary schools it is

35s. 3d. An injustice is being done both to the three million children thus condemned to be taught in understaffed schools and to the underpaid teachers. That system ought not to go on and cannot go on; and as nobody in his senses would suggest that the fourteen thousand Voluntary schools should be replaced, it follows that the existing schools must be levelled up to the proper standard of efficiency at the public cost. In other words, we must get rid of labels and not stay to consider whether this or that public Elementary school was originally rate-created or built by private generosity. In future all the schools doing the work of the nation in any particular district will be recognised as the common care of the locality. In other words, at last—at long last—the principle for which we have contended for thirty years—the principle of an equal wage for equal service—is definitely admitted."

The Bill was introduced in March and was eagerly discussed in the Commons until December. The Cardinal had not anticipated the violence or virulence of the opposition that was offered to the clause which allows the managers of the Denominational schools to continue, when giving up every other right, to appoint the teachers. To refuse that right seemed to him like a breach of faith. A Catholic school is a school attended by Catholic children and taught by Catholic teachers. The State was now going to borrow our schools—schools we were still to keep in repair—and if it took away the right of appointing the teachers it took away everything, and deprived us of the one thing for the sake of which the schools had been built. Then he approached the question from another point of view. The Catholic teachers exist, and they have to

be employed somewhere ; they are not especially suited to teach little Nonconformists, and they are specially welcome in the Catholic schools. It seemed a common-sense arrangement just to put the round pegs into the round holes, and to let the Catholic teachers be appointed to the schools that had been specially built for them.

To the end the Cardinal believed that the opposition to the Act was to this extent artificial, that it was founded largely upon a misapprehension for which the drafting of the Bill was responsible. The cost of the ordinary working expenses of the Denominational schools was now to be provided by the public, and yet it seemed they were still to continue under private management. That appeared obviously unjust—and yet it was only an affair of words. The "managers" did not manage. That was the explanation of the anomaly. If these so-called managers had been styled "visitors" instead, half the opposition to the Act would have been seen to be absurd. For the whole field of secular instruction—the only thing which the public pays for—was at once put beyond the control of the "managers." These became the servants and the creatures of the local authorities. At intervals of years they might, under carefully defined conditions, select or dismiss a teacher, but they had nothing to do with fixing his salary or paying him. They ceased to be even the conduit pipes for money. In the same way the inspection of the schools and the auditing of the accounts, the hours of opening, the holidays, the time-table, the school equipment, and expenditure of every kind were exclusively under the control of the local authority.

Cardinal Vaughan, then in the last stages of his illness, fretted and chafed, and felt that the chances of the Bill

were being thrown away simply from a misuse of words. The folly of retaining the word "manager," so likely to lead to confusion and misunderstanding, was still further emphasised when the famous Kenyon-Slaney amendment was under discussion. This amendment enabled the managers—two appointed by the local authority and four representing the denomination to which the school belonged—to control the religious instruction. The object of the amendment was simply to secure that a body of laymen, and not a single clergyman, should determine what doctrines were to be taught in Anglican schools, as those of the Church of England. It was felt that the common sense and moderation of a number of laymen would be the best guarantee to parents that all theological extremes would be excluded from the schools. In the minds of the supporters of the amendment, which the Government accepted, it had no reference to the Catholic schools, but was justified in their case, not on the grounds that it was necessary, but that it could do no harm. It was an odd situation. It was in the last degree unlikely that the two managers appointed by the local authorities would be Catholics. In all probability, therefore, two out of the six managers would be Anglicans or Nonconformists. These gentlemen, *ex hypothesi* believing the Catholic religion to be false, were expected to superintend and direct and, to the limit of their powers, influence the religious teaching of Catholic children. It was argued that in practice it would be found that in such cases the non-Catholic managers, besides being ordinarily in a minority, would have the good sense not to meddle in matters with which they had no concern, and of which, presumably, they would know little. But Cardinal

Vaughan was quick to point out through the *Tablet* that as far as Mr. Balfour himself was concerned that hole was stopped, and stopped by his own words. "His one argument in favour of inviting non-Catholic managers to interest themselves in the teaching of a religion in which they disbelieve is that otherwise they would really have nothing else to do. The poor plea comes oddly from Mr. Balfour's lips. Frankenstein must not complain of the monster he has made. We quote Mr. Balfour's words : 'Remember we have taken away from these managers all control of secular education. Their powers as regards secular education will be simply what the education authority chooses to make them. It is now proposed to take away from them, not to give them, in the Bill which calls them into existence, even the smallest share in the control of the religious education of the schools in any of the schools where the existing trust deeds give it to the clergyman. What will the five managers have to do in the interval before the selection of teachers ? They will have nothing to do at all.' It comes to this, that the statesman who invented these drones in the hive, these managers without functions, now urges that Protestant gentlemen should busy themselves in influencing the character of the religious instruction given in the Catholic schools as an alternative to having nothing to do. But it may be said that there are often Protestant children in Catholic schools. Quite so ; and if the managers had been allowed to have a voice in the ordinary work of the school the presence of a Protestant minority on the board of management might have found its justification. It is precisely because they have been deliberately shut out from that sphere of activity and usefulness that they are

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now called upon to interfere with the Catholic religious instruction from which the Protestant children will naturally be withdrawn."

Nothing could show more convincingly the folly of continuing to court misrepresentation by describing as "managers" men who managed nothing. Certainly subsequent events have fully justified the Cardinal's belief that this misnomer would militate in the future against the popularity and the usefulness of the Act. It has made possible the strange misconception that there are public Elementary schools supported out of the rates which yet are still under private control.

The Cardinal was often in the House of Commons at this time, and followed the debates with painful interest. He was indefatigable in his representations to all who were in a position to influence votes in however indirect a way. Every clause of the Bill was considered and discussed week by week with a special emergency committee of the Catholic Education Council which had been appointed for the purpose. As the summer wore on the Cardinal grew visibly weaker, and it seemed as if he lived only to see the final fate of the Bill. I saw him constantly at that time. On one occasion I remember he spoke with great admiration of a speech made by Mr. Macnamara against the Bill, and then added wistfully, "If only we had him on our side!" And yet, in fact, in spite of his speeches, Mr. Macnamara and the interests he represented were a source of confidence to the Cardinal. The teachers, who knew the life of the schools, would not be misled by the lip service paid to "managers" who henceforth should never manage, and they knew that the Bill stood for the principle of equality in all the schools, and would therefore

end the discrimination which has hitherto penalised the teachers who had the misfortune to work in the Voluntary schools. In a widely circulated pamphlet dealing with the Bill, Mr. Macnamara, after recalling the fact that the teachers employed in the two sets of schools had been to the same colleges, and passed the same certificate examinations, was constrained thus to explain, if not to justify, the attitude of the majority towards the Bill: "And yet if they happen to be the headmasters of the Board schools they get an average salary of £170 10s. 9d. as against an average of £127 12s. 8d. for exactly the same work and the same qualifications in the Church schools. The same work! In the one case the rooms will be large and airy, the classes fairly small, the apparatus plenteous and modern, and the assisting staff large and duly qualified. In the other the premises will be old and stuffy, the apparatus old, ill-adapted, and stinted, the classes large and unwieldy, and the assistant staff mainly ex-pupil-teachers and Article 68's. It has been made a gibe against the recent Conference of the National Union of Teachers that it gave something in the nature of qualified approval of the Government Bill. If you, gentle reader, were a Voluntary school teacher grinding hard against the collar at a shameful wage, and with grotesquely inadequate aid; or if you again were the more favoured Board school colleague watching the work of your Voluntary school associate with the eye of kindly sympathy; and if you saw the prospect of fair financial support for the starved Voluntary school from wholly public resources, why, what then?"

These words gave new hope to the Cardinal, and he felt sure the support of the great trade union, the National

Union of Teachers, would sooner or later exercise a decisive influence upon public opinion.

In October, 1902, Cardinal Vaughan wrote a letter to Mr. John Redmond asking him to secure the continuous presence of the Irish Members at Westminster during the Autumn Session for the sake of the Bill. It contained the following passage: "Were this a measure on which the opinion of the Catholic Bishops of England was divided, or were it a purely political question, I should have no right whatever to address you this letter. But as a matter of fact we are unanimous in our desire to see this Bill passed without the acceptance of any amendment destructive of the religious independence of our schools. We are convinced that we are not likely ever to get a more satisfactory settlement of the education problem; and we see in the triumph of the Government over the Nonconformist opposition as strong a guarantee as we can ever expect to get for liberty to educate Catholic children in the Catholic religion in our Elementary schools." The phrase, "triumph over the Nonconformist opposition," must in the light of subsequent events be regarded as an unfortunate one. At least it has lent itself to persistent misrepresentation, and the Cardinal, since his death, has been repeatedly quoted as describing the Act of 1902 as "a triumph over the Nonconformists." There is the less excuse for this garbling of the Cardinal's words because before he died he stated explicitly what he meant. In a letter to the *Times*, dated the 26th of November, he said, referring to Mr. John Morley: "He has been a little careless, too, in misquoting as mine a sentence which I never wrote, 'This Bill will mark the triumph of the Government over the Nonconformist opposition,' as

though the object of the Bill were to record a victory over —to inflict a humiliation upon—an important section of English life. What I wrote was, 'We see in the triumph of the Government over the Nonconformist opposition as strong a guarantee as we can ever expect to get for liberty.' I can assure Mr. Morley that, far from wishing to exult over the Nonconformists, I most heartily desire that they should have things their own way in the education of their own children, even at the cost of a considerable addition to the public burdens. And if my use of the word 'triumph' is to be taken in an offensive sense I gladly substitute for it the word 'majority.'"

Preoccupied as he was by the thought of his own schools, the Cardinal was still quite alive to the Nonconformist grievance in the villages. He not only admitted it, but on more than one occasion urged its redress at the public cost. Speaking at Newcastle in September, 1894, he said: "Nonconformists say that it is hardly fair that they should be bound to send their children to be educated in schools belonging to the Church of England. I think that there is some justice in this objection; and I think that the Nonconformists might very fairly be met by the people of England in this matter; say that, wherever they are sufficiently numerous to have a school of their own, they might have the faculty of erecting a Board school side by side with the school of the Church of England." So that wherever there was any reasonable number of Nonconformist children whose parents disliked sending them to an Anglican school the Cardinal would have had the whole body of the ratepayers come to the rescue and provide a new school. In the case of Catholic children similarly situated he asked

for far less. For them he asked no penny of public money, but only that when a Catholic school had been built for Catholic children without cost to the State it should not be condemned as unnecessary and so denied the ordinary rights of a public Elementary school.

This feeling, that the Nonconformists had a real grievance in the single-school areas, and that as they were unable to provide a remedy themselves the State ought to do so for them, found expression in a letter which the Cardinal sent to the *Times* in October, 1895. In it he says: "One more point: it regards the Nonconformists. They also have a grievance, and no legislation can be final which leaves them out in the cold. They complain that in rural districts they are bound to send their children to Church of England schools. You may refer them to the Conscience Clause, but this will not reconcile them to perpetual exclusion from the management and the tuition. The Bishop of Chester has proposed a generous mitigation of their grievance. If his proposal fails to satisfy them, let them propose a remedy which shall meet their case without injustice to ours." It is one of the ironies of life that Cardinal Vaughan's habitual and constitutional fairness towards opponents should be obscured in the minds of many merely because of his one chance phrase, "triumph over the Nonconformist opposition."

When the Bill of 1902 finally became law Cardinal Vaughan, though he saw seeds of future trouble in the retention of the provocative term "managers," welcomed the compromise it contained as on the whole a just and permanent settlement. It left the friends of the Denominational system under great disadvantages as compared with those who set no store on definite dogmatic instruc-

tion. The former have still to pay the interest on the heavy debts incurred in building the existing schools, and have still to pay for repairs and extensions and can have new schools only at their own cost. The latter, in the future as in the past, can have all these things done for them at the public expense. The Cardinal knew also that in some districts Catholic interests would suffer through local bigotry, but he thought that trouble would be temporary. He was sure that before long the local authorities would come to take an equal pride in all their schools, and not stay to consider whether originally they had been paid for by the ratepayer or by voluntary subscriptions, and in that belief he died.

Of his own part in the long struggle Cardinal Vaughan made very light—it was all in the day's work, and what he had done he had to do. One evening I was with him at Archbishop's House shortly before he left it for ever. His mortal illness was on him, and we both knew his last work was done. The talk turned on the fight for the schools, and as in slow retrospect he went back to this phase or that from the earliest stage of the struggle, there was an exultant tone in his words as he spoke which was in odd contrast to his physical weakness. When he first founded the Voluntary Schools Association it was the common talk that the extinction of the Denominational schools was only an affair of a few years —now they were entrenched in the soil; then they were dependent, and their teachers were dependent, on the humours of casual charity, and street-to-street collections on wages nights—now they were the care of the State, and their maintenance was a charge upon the revenues of England; one by one the claims formulated by the old

Voluntary Schools Association had been admitted and the bedrock principle of equality had been reached. Even the clause in the Act of 1902 about "unnecessary schools" the Cardinal thought satisfactory—not knowing how it would be interpreted. But the flow of reminiscence that evening stopped a little abruptly, and the Cardinal, as if suddenly remembering something, said with a smile, "But don't let us forget the story of the fly on the wheel of the coach."

CHAPTER V

THE REUNION OF CHURCHES

DURING the years 1894–1897 Cardinal Vaughan's time and thoughts were much taken up with the controversies which arose out of the movement in favour of Corporate Reunion, which, originating with a party in the Established Church, came to an end with the final condemnation of Anglican Orders by the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*. The controversy was not of Herbert Vaughan's seeking. He had full sympathy with the idea of Reunion, but he saw from the beginning that in its corporate form it was quite impracticable. He was not insensible to the splendour of the hope that the Church of England might one day become reconciled to the Holy See, and all his sympathies were with the High Church party. He had followed the developments of the Tractarian Movement with eager interest, and noted with something akin to exultation the Romeward trend of the most active, the most earnest, and the most spiritually gifted party in the Established Church. He was familiar with every detail of the wonderful revolution which has so changed the spirit of the Anglican Church, and he hailed it as everywhere breaking down barriers of prejudice, as familiarising the minds of the English people with Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice, and as gradually preparing the way

for the return of the English people to their lost allegiance and the unity of the One Fold.

When he knew that men still calling themselves Anglicans, and professing to be members of the Protestant Church as by law established, accepted every article of the Catholic creed except the supremacy of the Pope, he could but hope and pray that their influence might grow and spread throughout the country, and that they themselves might have the grace to see the whole truth and embrace it. And when, too, he learned that a group of learned and distinguished men, with the President of the English Church Union at their head, were trying to reconcile England with the Holy See by means of a scheme for Corporate Reunion, he could but rejoice at such a visible breaking away from the traditional attitude of British Protestantism towards the Scarlet Woman. The mere desire for Reunion, for reconciliation on any terms, was an unspeakable gain. None the less, Cardinal Vaughan regarded the movement itself at first with impatience, and later with unconcealed dislike.

The reasons for this attitude are easily stated. Impulsive as he was, and enthusiastic, and readily fired by large ideas, Herbert Vaughan yet saw with clear-eyed certainty, and from the first, that Corporate Reunion was a phrase, and nothing more. He knew the Church of Rome, he knew the Anglican Church, and above all he knew the temper of the English people. To bring England back to the Catholic Faith was the sustaining hope and purpose of his life. But could that be done by any process of Corporate Reunion? He knew that Corporate Reunion could come only by the conversion of the Anglican Church and by a public disavowal of its

past—that if it meant anything it must mean corporate submission, and that the only way in which it could be effected was by corporate absorption. In fact, the very idea of Corporate Reunion seemed to him a hopeless anachronism, and better suited to Orientals than to Englishmen. No doubt, in more than one instance in the past whole societies of men have been reconciled to Catholicism by a common act of Corporate Reunion. It was so in the case of the Maronites, the Ruthenians, and the Chaldeans. But however suited to peoples of the East, with whom the shepherd leading the flock is the type of so many things, can we easily associate the idea of Corporate Reunion with the conditions of modern England?

There was, of course, the great and historic precedent of the public reconciliation of England to the Catholic Church in the days of Mary Tudor. On St. Andrew's Day, 1554, both Houses of Parliament, having confessed their error on their knees and publicly professed their repentance, begged absolution for the whole nation from the Papal Legate, Cardinal Pole. But when these members of Parliament declared themselves "very sorry and repentant for the schism committed in this realm, and dominions of the same, against the Apostolic See," they may perhaps be fairly taken as having acted in a representative capacity. The people at large were accustomed to the idea of religious authority, and, generally, were still more familiar with the doctrines of the Catholic Church than with the religious innovations of the late reign. The theory of representative institutions has travelled a long road since the time of the Tudors, and it is hard to imagine by what title a modern member of Parliament

could presume to represent his constituents in a matter of religious opinion. And even if the Bishops of the Established Church could bring themselves to accept the distinctive doctrines of Rome, could they pretend to speak in the names of the people, or to answer for the consciences of the laity? Cardinal Vaughan knew that a condition precedent to Corporate Reunion is the acceptance as of faith of the whole cycle of Catholic doctrines—Transubstantiation, the Intercession of the Saints, Purgatory, the Immaculate Conception, Auricular Confession, and Papal Infallibility. In other words, to the Catholic Church the Decrees of Trent and the Vatican are as sacred and as irrevocable as those of Nicæa and Chalcedon. Was the Established Church, or any group within it, ready to accept these doctrines as of faith?

Before Reunion could be considered by the Holy See, the question would come, "What is the Rule of Faith of the Anglican Church?" It is not enough to point to her formularies, or her Prayer Book, and to contend that there is nothing in them which is inconsistent with Catholic doctrine. If mere signatures to formularies could suffice, neither Nestorius nor Eutyches need ever have left the Church. Both were willing to sign the Nicene Creed, but the living guardians of the Truth were there to forbid their novel interpretation. Cardinal Vaughan could not but ask himself who would venture to speak for the Anglican Church to-day—is there any living authority able to declare what is the right interpretation of her formularies? The comprehensiveness of the Established Church has its advantages, as we are often reminded, but it is a fatal bar to Reunion with Rome. Cardinal Vaughan could not recognise in the Anglican Church as it exists to-day any

living teaching voice, any authority which can effectually declare the meaning of her formularies, or any system of discipline by which she can expel dissentient members. Without that discipline, and without that proclaimed rule of faith, the Church of England is obviously not in a position to offer that collective submission, and that acknowledgment of the Supremacy of the See of Peter, which is necessary to anything in the way of Corporate Reunion. But while for these reasons Cardinal Vaughan regarded the movement in favour of Corporate Reunion as necessarily doomed to failure, the high regard he had for some of the leaders of the movement made him for a long time think very tenderly of it. It was only the proofs that gradually accumulated in his hands as to the positive mischief it was doing, in preventing, or retarding, individual conversions, which gradually forced him into open hostility.

The origin of the revived movement in favour of Corporate Reunion may be traced to an accidental meeting of Lord Halifax with the Abbé Fernand Portal in the island of Madeira in 1889–1890. When they had once become acquainted the two men found they had many interests in common. They took long walks together and discussed the religious conditions in their respective countries. If Lord Halifax learned something from the Abbé, what the Abbé learned from Lord Halifax came to him almost as a revelation. Here was a representative of the Anglican Church, the President of the English Church Union, and yet what a little seemed to separate him from Catholicism! Apparently he already accepted all the distinctive doctrines of the Catholic Church. Confession and the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar presented no

difficulties. Even the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See and the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome were conceded, if not as *de jure divino*, at least as *de jure ecclesiastico*. After this, to the astonished Abbé, all things seemed possible, while the work of doing everything that could be done to put the position of the Anglican Church fairly before Catholic Europe became an imperative duty. To bring about a reunion between England and Rome seemed a project which required only patience and good-will. The difficulty was to know just where and how to begin. What was wanted in the first instance was a point of contact which might bring the parties together. It was thought that a consideration of the question of Anglican Orders might lead to discussion, and then to friendly explanations, on both sides. And if an understanding could be arrived at in regard to the validity of Anglican Orders, other conferences might be arranged dealing with the more difficult points of controversy.

The Abbé Portal threw himself into this scheme with the greatest zeal and earnestness, and shortly afterwards returning to France, under the pseudonym "F. Dalbus" published a pamphlet entitled *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*. It was a curious book, in this respect—that while all its arguments seemed to point to the validity of the Orders of the English Church, the author finally summed up against them. But the effect of the adverse verdict was at once discounted by the fact that it was based on the disuse of the *porrectio instrumentorum*—the tradition of the sacred vessels—which every theologian knew to be unessential. Written in haste, and for a purpose, the pamphlet has no claim to be considered a serious contribution to the literature of the subject. It achieved, however, an astonishing

popularity, and attracted the attention of many scholars on both sides of the English Channel. This was largely due to the fact that it was reviewed by the distinguished author of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Abbé Duchesne, in the columns of the *Bulletin Critique*. The Abbé had not at that time made a study of the history of the subject; but, taking the Abbé Portal's premises, he drew a conclusion from them that was favourable to the validity of Anglican Orders. The following extracts from the review which appeared in *La Science Catholique* indicate Mgr. Duchesne's position with sufficient clearness:—

"M. Dalbus begins by establishing that Bishops Parker and Barlow, from whom the whole of the Anglican clergy derives its ordinations, were really ordained; or, at least, that there is no ground for contesting their ordination. On the other hand, the ritual of the Anglican Church is substantially similar to the ritual of the Greek Church, and even to that of the Latin Church down to the twelfth century. Conclusion: The ministers of the Anglican Church are just as rightly ordained as Gregory of Tours, Hincmar of Rheims, and other Latin clergy of ancient times could be.

"But M. Dalbus refrains from drawing this conclusion; for there are difficulties in the way (1) in respect to the intention of the consecrators at certain points of the historical succession; (2) with regard to the validity of the present Anglican ritual, the Roman Church having added to its own ritual certain appendages which are neglected in England.

"To the first difficulty I reply that intention (within the limits laid down by the Catholic rule, '*intentio faciendi quod facit Ecclesia*') must be presumed till the contrary is proved. There have been unbelieving Bishops elsewhere than in England. Baptism may be validly conferred by a person who only knows that it is a sacred rite by which one becomes a Christian. In the same way the Anglican ordinations have always been performed

by persons who wished to make bishops or priests, and so on. We ought not to ask more.

"The objection drawn from the modifications in the ritual is no more admissible than the other. This objection only concerns the ordination of priests. The schoolmen laid down that for this form of Orders the essential part of the rite (*materia et forma*) consists in the tradition of the sacred vessels and in the words which the Bishop pronounces in giving them. At present this system is abandoned; it is too clear that to maintain it all the Greek and Oriental ordinations, and even those of the Latin Church before the eleventh or twelfth century, would have to be considered null.

"The conclusion is that Anglican Orders may be regarded as valid. I know that at Rome the contrary opinion is, though not theoretically imposed, translated into practice, and that converted ministers are reordained before being allowed to continue their functions in the Catholic Church. But the Roman Church has the right and the duty of paying regard to the scruples of its faithful children. In the present state of opinion few Catholics would accept the Sacraments from a minister whom they knew to have received no other ordination than that of the Anglican Church. In these matters it is natural to multiply guarantees."

There is no need to enter into the general principles as to intention and sufficiency of form here laid down by the Abbé Duchesne. He was dealing with the facts as presented by the Abbé Portal. But obviously a very different state of things is revealed when it is pointed out that the compilers of the Edwardine Ordinal took the Roman Pontifical and deliberately eviscerated it, with the express intention of cutting away from it every word and phrase which could signify the *Sacerdotium*, or sacrificial power. The analogy of the existing Greek forms or the more ancient forms in use in the Western Church at once fails. The words of an Ordination rite must be interpreted

in the light of the circumstances of their adoption. The Reformers wilfully mutilated the Pontifical with the object of eliminating the Catholic conception of the priesthood, and the words they retained must be taken to express this intended change. As a critic in the *Spectator* put it with an excellent economy of words : "Simpler words intended *in sensu Ecclesiae* may suffice ; but a formula whose simplicity arises from the negation of the Church's full doctrine instead of its implied affirmation, cannot have a like meaning or efficacy. So an ante-Nicene Father may use in an orthodox sense language which, in an Arian after Nicæa, would be unorthodox."

In the same way with regard to the doctrine of intention. The principle *ex opere operato* no doubt might hold good in the case of an unbeliever who, using the form of the Church, baptized a child. But who would contend that the Sacrament was rightly administered if, to express his unbelief, the man were to alter the essential form of the Church and to pour the water in some other name than that of the Blessed Trinity? Again, it is now quite certain that the lack of "the tradition of instruments (*porrectio instrumentorum*)" was never at any time among the grounds upon which Anglican Orders were condemned. The real reasons for which these Orders were declared to be invalid by the Holy See, whether in the days of Cardinal Pole or Cardinal Vaughan, were not considered in the pamphlet of "Fernand Dalbus," and it was with that pamphlet alone that at this period the Abbé Duchesne was concerned.

The news that so eminent an authority as the author of the *Liber Pontificalis* had declared in favour of Anglican Orders at once drew general attention to the

subject. Another French priest wrote a book on the question, and both its arguments and its summing-up were in favour of the Anglican claims. Cardinal Bourret, Bishop of Rodez and Vabres, wrote to the Abbé Portal expressing interest in his work while attacking his conclusions in favour of Anglican Orders. This led the Bishop of Salisbury to send a letter to "Fernand Dalbus" through his publishers, in which the Anglican position was explained and defended. This letter, which was most conciliatory in its tone, was afterwards published. A little later two Anglican clergymen, the Rev. T. A. Lacey, Vicar of Madingley, and the Rev. E. Denny, published a volume in defence of Anglican Orders, *De Hierarchia Anglicana*, written in Latin, presumably for the convenience of the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome.

Meanwhile the Abbé Portal's enthusiasm grew as he saw more and more of his High Church friends. In the summer of 1894 he visited England, and, under the guidance of Lord Halifax, had excellent opportunities of seeing at least one aspect of the Anglican Church. He was introduced to High Church Bishops and attended Ritualistic churches; he stayed two or three days with the Cowley Fathers and he visited Anglican convents. He was delighted and surprised at all he saw and heard, and he did not conceal his belief that his fellow-Catholics in France were suffering under the strangest illusions as to the beliefs and practices of the Anglican Church. He was soon able to report that there was the greatest desire to know more, though at present the misunderstandings were deplorable. To use Lord Halifax's words, "He said that any recognition of the very existence of the English Church would be an astonishment to the

French, that they knew of a Western Church and an Eastern Church, but knew nothing of any independent Church in the West."

It was, perhaps, unfortunate that while in England the Abbé was so absorbed in his study of the conditions of the Established Church that he failed to see Cardinal Vaughan. A luncheon had indeed been arranged to which the Cardinal had invited Abbot Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop, as experts in the subject in which the Abbé was interested, but he was prevented from being present. On the other hand, he had the advantage of an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Obviously, if any serious steps were to be taken to bring about a *rapprochement* with the Church of Rome, it would have to be with the sanction of Episcopal authority. The story of the attempt which was made to enlist the sympathy, and if possible the co-operation, of Archbishop Benson has been told with great fairness and candour by Mr. A. C. Benson in his admirable biography of his father. The first interview took place at Addington in the summer of 1894. "One of those present said that the Archbishop's whole attitude was one of the greatest caution, and that he kept the conversation as general as possible, avoiding any dangerous discussions or compromising statements. To use a picturesque French proverb, he talked 'with his paws to the air,' ready to dart away at the least sign of any proximity to dangerous subjects."

But meanwhile events had moved fast in Rome. A number of influential French ecclesiastics had now taken up the cause of Anglican Orders, and were urging their validity with all the eagerness of partizans. The views

held by the Abbé Duchesne were shortly afterwards supported by the high authority of Mgr. Gasparri, Professor of Canon Law at the Catholic Institute of Paris. Among others who were impressed by the strange stories which now began to be afloat as to the condition of the Anglican Church was the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla. Shortly after his visit to Addington the Abbé Portal received an intimation through a common friend that if it were convenient for him to go to Rome, Cardinal Rampolla would be glad to see him. The Abbé went at once, and was received both by Cardinal Rampolla and Leo XIII. The Abbé appears to have been at once delighted and astonished at the warmth of the welcome which greeted him everywhere in the Eternal City. To prelates who had not hitherto conceived the possibility of a "Catholic" party in a Protestant and Erastian Church, the stories they now heard of Anglican monks and nuns, of a devout laity and devoted clergy who held Catholic doctrines about all the Seven Sacraments and were ready to accord a primacy of honour to the Apostolic See over the West, sounded like a beautiful fairy tale. Consider, for instance, what was likely to be the effect in Rome of such words as these spoken by Lord Halifax at the annual meeting of the English Church Union:—

"Surely there is no one, if he thinks what it would be to see the Western Church once more reunited, her schisms healed, and peace once more existing amongst her members, but must long for the day when the Church of England, our own branch of the Church which we love so well, should again be united in bonds of visible communion with the Apostolic See and all the Churches of the West. What would we not give to be able to

make our confessions and our communions abroad as we do at home! Who can endure the sense of being separated from those with whom in all essentials of belief and sentiment we are one? We have never renounced communion with Rome. There is nothing in the formal teaching of the Church of England which in the least degree implies the existence or the desirability of such a separation; on the contrary, it is distinctly repudiated. Priests in Roman Orders may minister, members of the Roman Communion may communicate, at our altars. We desire from the bottom of our hearts to be allowed to make our confessions to and to receive our communions from the hands of the Roman clergy abroad."

We, in this country, can attach its right value to such language. We understand all that is meant by the comprehensiveness of the Church of England; we balance such utterances against corresponding manifestoes on the part of other schools of thought equally representative of the Establishment. But on the Continent these wholesome correctives, born of long familiarity with English life, were quite wanting. Lord Halifax's language was taken literally, and at its face value, as the profession of faith of a typical Protestant peer. It may be objected that things just as extreme had been said before and without making any impression in Italy. That is quite true; but the intervention of the French ecclesiastics made all the difference. In Rome, and especially in ecclesiastical Rome, the difference between things written in French and things written in English is between things read and things unread. The question arose, "Why were we not told of this wonderful transformation scene long ago?" The explanation was at hand: the English Catholics, soured by centuries of conflict and persecution, were

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incapable of doing justice to the Anglican Church; with the best of intentions, they were unconsciously influenced by hereditary prejudice; it was their insular temper which made them resent as an uncalled-for interference the researches of Continental scholars, of such representative men as Duchesne and Gasparri.

Abbé Portal arrived in Rome on the 11th of September, 1893. He saw Cardinal Rampolla the same evening, and the Pope on the following day. On the third day he again saw the Pope, and then, within a week, with a letter from Cardinal Rampolla in his pocket, he was hurrying to England with his news. He bore splendid tidings. He came to announce that the Pope had been on the point of addressing a personal letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury with a view to the Reunion of Christendom. The Abbé's statement is faithfully reflected in the letter in which Lord Halifax sought an interview with Archbishop Benson. He wrote: 'I have a very important communication from the Abbé Portal which I think will both please and astonish your Grace very much. It seems to me so important that it has caused the telegram I sent off this morning. . . . I have some very important things to tell your Grace."

The following account of the Abbé's visit to Rome is from notes of the interview taken by Professor Mason, who was present: "He told Cardinal Rampolla his impressions of the English Church, and at the end Cardinal Rampolla said, 'You must by all means see the Pope.' The next day he had an audience of the Pope which lasted an hour. The Pope made M. Portal tell him everything quite frankly. He told him what he had seen in England--that the Church was at the head of the

intellectual movement, that in dealing with the English clergy he was dealing with men of real learning; of our services and ritual, convents, and other features of English Church life; that there was a great feeling for union, that many were praying every day for it. The Pope . . . asked M. Portal what he could do. M. Portal said that if he were not prepared to make the utmost concessions that could possibly be made, it would be of no use to take any step at all. He suggested that the Pope should write a sympathetic letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The Pope asked how such a letter would be received. M. Portal assured him that it would not meet with a rebuff. . . . The Pope said in an impassioned manner, 'How gladly would I say my *Nunc Dimittis* if I could make the smallest beginning of such a reunion!' He said to M. Portal more than once, 'You know I am eighty-five years old.' The Pope told M. Portal that he would write, and bade him come back to the Vatican in two days' time." [1]

But when the Abbé returned, he received not the expected letter from Leo XIII to Archbishop Benson but the promise of a letter from Cardinal Rampolla to himself. The Abbé felt that some one had been abroad in the night sowing cockles among the wheat, but was quickly consoled when he was given to understand that the Pope would commission the Abbé Duchesne to examine and report on the subject of Anglican Orders. Both the Abbé and Lord Halifax thought this very encouraging. The Archbishop of Canterbury took another view. Professor Mason continues: "Cardinal Rampolla's letter was then fetched; and the Archbishop said it was a nice letter, but

[1] "*Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury*," vol. ii, p. 597.

very general. It contained several expressions offensive to us, as that the Roman Church was an ancient 'mother and mistress,' and the 'only centre of union.' I ventured to defend the expression 'mother' as against the Archbishop, and M. Portal explained 'mistress' in the sense of 'teacher, as having taught us at the time when she became our mother.' The Archbishop did not admit either statement."

The interview was not a success. The Archbishop had not understood that in receiving Lord Halifax he was also to see the Abbé Portal. His biographer says: "The Archbishop was certainly justified in feeling that it was not prudent that so momentous an interview should be sprung upon him, and that he ought at least to have had a chance of deciding beforehand whether he would receive such communications at all. At any rate, he was deeply annoyed, and made no attempt to dissimulate his feelings."

Professor Mason's notes were afterwards submitted to the Archbishop. One illuminating sentence serves to show how well he appreciated the situation, and saw its unreality: "I said that Portal had seen only one side of English Church life with Lord Halifax; and that the Pope could have had no complete view of England before him."

A few days before this interview Cardinal Vaughan was at the Catholic Conference at Preston. He had taken as the subject of his address "The Reunion of Christendom." He hailed it as a sign of good omen that England alone among the Protestant lands seemed troubled at the divisions among Christians:—

"No similar recognition of the sin of schism, no movement towards the unity of Christendom, is to be found

among the French, the German, or the Scandinavian Protestants. A divine grace has been poured out over England, for which we cannot be too deeply thankful. It has touched the hearts of earnest and devout Anglicans, and has drawn and raised the minds of a multitude of Nonconformists, who have been led to seek some higher level, and to feel about for some basis of reunion, if not with Catholics, at least with Protestant Episcopalians." Then he indicated the line in which his own hope lay—that the Ritualists in the Church of England were blindly preparing the way, and by gradually familiarising the people with every Catholic doctrine and devotion would make the final step to submission less difficult. Describing the wonderful transformation which has come over the spirit of the Established Church, he said:—

"Contrast the churches of the Establishment of sixty or seventy years ago—closed from week-end to week-end, no daily service, no festivals and Saints' Days kept, the Communion Service read three or four times a year, everything dry, cold, and formal—with the present churches, which are often distinguishable only with extreme difficulty from those belonging to the Church of Rome. The study of the patristic, of the theological, ascetical, devotional, liturgical, and rubrical writers of the Catholic Church has brought about a change in the mind, feelings, and tastes of an ever-increasing section of the Anglican Church, which has been simply a revolution. The doctrines of the Catholic Church, which had been rejected and condemned as blasphemous superstitions and fond inventions, have been re-examined and taken back, one by one, until the Thirty-nine Articles have been banished and buried as a rule of faith. The Real Presence, the Sacrifice of the Mass

offered for the living and the dead—sometimes even in Latin—not unfrequent Reservation of the Sacrament, regular auricular Confession, Extreme Unction, Purgatory, prayers for the dead, devotions to Our Lady, to her Immaculate Conception, the use of her Rosary, and the Invocation of Saints are doctrines taught and accepted, with a growing desire and relish for them, in the Church of England. A celibate clergy, the institution of monks and nuns under vows, retreats for the clergy, missions for the people, fasting and other penitential exercises, candles, lamps, incense, crucifixes, images of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints held in honour, stations of the cross, cassocks, cottas, Roman collars, birettas, copes, dalmatics, vestments, mitres, croziers, the adoption of an ornate Catholic ritual, and now recently an elaborate display of the whole ceremonial of the Catholic Pontifical—all this speaks of a change and a movement towards the Church that would have appeared absolutely incredible at the beginning of this century. And what is still more remarkable is that the movement has been stronger than the rankest Protestantism, stronger than the Bishops, stronger than the lawyers and the Legislature. A spasmodic protest, a useless prosecution, a Delphic judgment, and the movement continues and spreads, lodging itself in Anglican homes and convents, in schools, churches, and even cathedrals, until it is rapidly covering the country. Has there ever been a more marvellous change, and this within half a century?"

The only reference to Anglican Orders was contained in this sentence: "Would that our Anglican friends could prove to us, would that we could recognise, the validity of their Orders: not, indeed, for any benefit they could

be to them outside the Unity of the Church, but because they believed their conversion would be rendered easier." These words were as little controversial as possible, but unfortunately they were misunderstood. They were interpreted to mean that Cardinal Vaughan personally believed in the validity of Anglican Orders, and was anxious for their recognition. In reply to a correspondent who drew his attention to this misunderstanding the Cardinal wrote:—

"Let us be quite clear as to what we mean by Orders. Catholics understand Ordination to be the bestowal upon men, first, of a power to change bread and wine, so that in their place our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ becomes truly and substantially present on the altar in His Divine and Human natures, and to offer Him up in true Eucharistic Sacrifice to the Eternal Father; secondly, of a power to forgive the sins of men with a divine efficacy. We cannot allow that Anglican Orders possess or confer these supernatural powers, which are of the Priesthood of Christ. And, first, am I wrong in believing that the existence of any such powers in their ministers is as vehemently denied by a large majority of the members of the Established Church as by ourselves? If so, what of the certainty professed by those numerous and devout members of the same Communion who maintain that these powers are bestowed and exercised within their Church? And where is the unity of the Anglican Church on a doctrinal matter of such vital importance?

"Now, apart from any desire to discuss the Barlow controversy, I must remark that the absence of any record of Barlow's consecration, taken with the circumstances of his subsequent history, must necessarily make the trans-

mission of Orders to Archbishop Parker historically doubtful. But more than this, the new forms of Ordination and Consecration, drawn up by Cranmer, at a time when he and his friends emphatically repudiated the doctrines and practice of the ancient Church of England, carefully exclude everything of the ancient Catholic rites indicative of the sacrificial character. This was perfectly consistent with the destruction of the altars and the substitution of a table, with a rejection of the Liturgy of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the substitution for it of the present Communion Service, which excludes all idea of an actual and substantial Real Presence and of a sacrificial act. No one who compares the ancient rites of Ordination and the Liturgy of the Sacrifice of the Mass with the rites substituted by Cranmer can fail to see that every idea of a sacerdotal or sacrificing character was carefully eliminated. This has been shown clearly enough in Dr. Gasquet's work on *The Book of Common Prayer* and in Canon Estcourt's on *Anglican Ordinations.*

"Systematic liturgical changes like these are the best means extant of ascertaining the intentions of the English Reformers. The acts and words of those who drew up the new form of Ordination cannot be doubtful. They intended positively to exclude the ancient idea of a sacrificing Priesthood as they had already banished that of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Ordinations held by men repudiating the Catholic doctrine of the Priesthood and using rites designed to emphasise this repudiation must ever be subject to, at least, the most overwhelming doubt."

It was no pleasure to Herbert Vaughan to have to write in that uncompromising way. But he had been

grievously misunderstood, and was bound to make his position clear. Writing at this time to his brother Bernard he said: "I am anxious as to the effect my words may produce on Anglicans. To be true and straight, and not offensive; to rebuke and not wound, to persuade and show sympathy, that was the problem, and I have no notion how it will turn out. God grant that it may do good." Certainly he had not sought this controversy about Anglican Orders. He was content with the practice of the Church, which for three hundred years and more had always required that every Anglican clergyman wishing to become a Catholic priest should be regarded simply as a layman, and so ordained unconditionally. He knew how the Edwardine Ordinal had been drawn up, and in what ways and for what reasons it differed from the Roman Pontifical; and for him that was decisive. He was deeply impressed also by the fact that Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a book regularly put into the hands of candidates for Anglican Orders, explicitly tells them that "Sacrifice is no part of the Church's ministry," and that the "Gospel hath properly no sacrifice," and then explains that the word "priest" may be safely used because when men hear it "it draweth no more their minds to any cogitation of sacrifice than the name of a Senator or an Alderman causes them to think of old age." In other words, the term "priest" could be retained without harm because in common speech it had ceased to suggest anything like *Sacerdotium*. But, holding these views, Cardinal Vaughan came to see that, in face of the campaign very energetically carried on in Rome by the extreme High Church party and their French allies, and the attempts which were being

made to stop or delay individual conversions, a new investigation into the whole subject was becoming a necessity. He felt also that if an inquiry were undertaken it ought to be as thorough and final as possible. So when, a few months later, he heard that an attempt was being made to get the Abbé Portal's book condemned by the Holy Office, he took urgent steps to prevent it. If a decision had been given, it would necessarily have been adverse to the book, because the Court would have been guided by established precedents. That would have amounted only to a declaration of the well known. Cardinal Vaughan felt that something more was needed now, and that the time had come when those precedents themselves ought to be reviewed and scrutinised in the light of modern scholarship and the results of modern research.

But while many of the sympathisers with the Corporate Reunion movement hailed the prospect of a general re-opening of the question by the Holy See as a great concession to their views and as likely to alter all the future relations between England and Rome, many Catholics, on the other hand, regarded the proposal with dislike and alarm. They urged upon the Cardinal that such an inquiry, besides being useless in itself, would in the end cause great resentment in the country. It was useless as a step towards Corporate Reunion upon any hypothesis. For if Anglican Orders are valid in fact, they are not less so because Rome declines to recognise them ; and if they were recognised as such, what would it avail ? If the Orders of the Anglican Church are valid, she still remains as much outside the unity of the Church as the Arians or Nestorians of the past or the Greeks of

to-day. On the other hand, if there were an inquiry, and a condemnation followed, while no new situation would be created, a multitude of well-meaning people who perhaps, had hitherto taken not the slightest interest in the subject, would suddenly feel aggrieved and perhaps outraged as Englishmen. Herbert Vaughan knew the intensity of the national feeling, and could but admit that the average Englishman, though quite agreeing with the Pope that the clergy of the Established Church do not work miracles and certainly have no supernatural power to forgive sins, was yet quite capable of being indignant if Anglican Orders were condemned by any foreign tribunal. Was it worth while, then, to court an inquiry which was almost certain to result in a new condemnation, which would leave things exactly as they were before, except for a legacy of anger and ill-will? These timid counsels were urged upon the Cardinal with great boldness and freedom. They had no effect upon him. When the interests of religion were at stake he was always absolutely fearless and quite indifferent to public opinion. The issue had been publicly challenged, sincere seekers after the truth were in doubt and perplexity, and he now felt that the only way to put an end to misunderstandings and confusion was to ask for the answer of Rome.

In October of this year, 1894, occurred an incident which at the time gave Cardinal Vaughan more pain, perhaps, than anything else in his whole career. The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin had consecrated a gentleman of the name of Cabrera to be a Bishop of the Reformed Church in Spain. That a Protestant prelate should have been willing to render this brotherly service

to the struggling Protestants of Spain was not in itself surprising, but from the peculiar point of view of the English Church Union the action of Lord Plunket was gravely irregular. Unable to prevent it, Lord Halifax could at least protest against it, and he did so in the following letter :—

"The English Church Union,
"35, Wellington Street, Strand, London.
"*October 8th*, 1894.

"*To the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lora Antolino Monescillo, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Toledo.*

"Eminence,—I venture to approach your Eminence in order to express, on behalf of the English Church Union, a society consisting of many thousands of members of the Church of England, the profound distress which has been caused to us by the recent action of the Archbishop of Dublin in having presumed, without the sanction of your Eminence and of the Bishops of your province of Toledo, to consecrate a certain schismatic named Cabrera, at Madrid, to the Episcopate. We desire absolutely to disclaim any complicity with such action, believing it to be a most grievous violation of well-established and universally recognised principles of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of Catholic order. We are also apprehensive lest it might be supposed by any members of the illustrious Church of Spain that the ancient Church of England, of whose honour we as her loyal members are most dutifully jealous, is in any way responsible for this action, which we so earnestly deplore. We therefore would say—First, that the Provinces of Canterbury and

York, which constitute the Church of England, are ecclesiastically independent of and can in no way control those which constitute the Church of Ireland. Secondly, that in the last session of the Provincial Synod of Canterbury, held in the present year, the Primate of All England and the Bishops of his Province repudiated all responsibility for the step contemplated by the Archbishop of Dublin. The Church of England has thus entirely disclaimed responsibility for an act which is and remains simply the private act of the Archbishop of Dublin and the two Irish Bishops who assisted him. Nevertheless, we on our behalf believe it to be right as members of the Catholic Church which is the mother of us all, and as members of the Church of England in particular, thus solemnly to assure your Eminence and the Bishops, clergy, and faithful of the ancient and illustrious Church of Spain of our repudiation of the encouragement which the action we deplore has given to those who have withdrawn themselves from the communion and authority of their lawful pastors.

"I have the honour to remain, with the expression of my most profound respect, your Eminence's most humble and obedient servant,

"HALIFAX, *President of the Union.*"

What impression was such a letter likely to convey to the mind of a Spanish Archbishop wholly unfamiliar with the parties and schools of thought within the English Church? The Church of Spain has very few points of contact with the outer world, and it may be safely said that for the average Spaniard the Christians of the West are still simply and clearly divided into Catholics and Protestants. In his courteous and sympathetic letter to

the Archbishop of Toledo Lord Halifax, while condemning the action of the Archbishop of Dublin, went on to describe his fellow-Protestant, Señor Cabrera, as a schismatic. Moreover, he spoke of himself and his friends as "members of the Catholic Church" and of the "ancient Church of England." The moment Cardinal Vaughan saw the letter in the columns of the *Guardian* he felt that it might give rise to grave misunderstandings. Might not a Spanish prelate, unfamiliar with the curious reasoning which lets certain Anglicans persuade themselves that they are both Protestants and Catholics at the same time, be easily deceived, and suppose that these gentlemen were what they claimed to be, members of the ancient Church of England, and therefore in communion with Rome? At any rate Cardinal Vaughan thought he ought to send a line to the Archbishop of Toledo to put him on his guard. Accordingly he wrote a private letter of explanation in Latin. A few days later the Cardinal, taking up the *Times*, saw there given to the public what purported to be a translation of his private letter to the Archbishop of Toledo. The English version was as follows :—

"Most Excellent and Most Reverend Sir,—The considerations which I am about briefly and promptly to place before your Eminence, upon a matter of the greatest urgency (as may be gathered from the context), will explain the reason for my sending to you the telegram of this day's date.

"The English newspapers have just published a letter by Lord Halifax with regard to the consecration of Señor Cabrera.

"1. This nobleman is not, and never was, a Catholic, but the chief of one of the sects of the Anglican Church, which claims for itself, without the smallest foundation, the name of the true Catholic Church.

"2. In taking such a name this sect has acted with a view to be regarded in Catholic countries as the National Catholic English Church.

"3. It is extremely important that your Eminence should be possessed of these facts, in order that you may treat Lord Halifax and the sect over which he presides with prudence, not dealing with it as if it were a member or part of the Catholic Church, but as a member or part of the Anglican Protestant Church, subject to the civil power.

"4. The Viscount's letter is written with the object of astutely deceiving the Catholic Bishops who may not be as well informed as your Eminence.

"5. Many persons of this sect, when travelling in Catholic countries, are accustomed audaciously and sacrilegiously to communicate in the Catholic churches.

"6. This sect speaks of us English Catholics as schismatics, and the Catholic Church of England as an Italian Mission.

"With regard to Señor Cabrera, who has received the episcopal pseudo-consecration, I have to call the attention of your Eminence to the following:—

"The Bishops and clergy of the English and Irish Protestant Church do not possess valid Orders. The formula of ordination composed by Cranmer, in the time of the Reformation, was made with the object of excluding all notion of that sacerdotal power (*sacerdotium*) which pertains to ministers who offer sacrifice.

"On this point I transmit herewith to your Eminence

a letter which I have published in the English newspapers, in which I expose briefly the reasons which exist for not being able to recognise the validity of the Orders of the Anglican Church.

"With regard to the manner in which the pseudo-consecration of Señor Cabrera should be treated, whether by your Eminence or by any one else who may concern himself about the matter, it would be convenient not to insist solely upon the sacrilege that has been committed, but more especially upon the fact that the validity of the Orders of the Anglican Church has never been recognised by the Holy See, nor by the Catholic world, and that as regards true Orders, understood in a Catholic sense, neither the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin nor the Bishops and clergy of the Protestant Church, whether Anglican or Irish, should be considered more than as so many laymen.

"With the object of defending the truth, I write this letter to your Eminence.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN,
Archbishop of Westminster."

The Cardinal read this version of his letter with astonishment and indignation, but every other feeling was quickly lost in the thought of the pain which one paragraph in it must inevitably cause Lord Halifax. To understand what he felt it must be remembered that Lord Halifax was a man for whom he had a strong personal regard. He never could understand his religious position, but he knew him to be high-minded and earnest and unselfish—in fact, he was the last man of whom he

would willingly have said a wounding word. He at once wrote a letter to the *Times* in the course of which he said :—

"I see in a letter of mine to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, of which you have to-day published a translation, that one of my points is incorrectly rendered. I did not intend to say, nor did I say, that Lord Halifax wrote 'with the object of astutely deceiving the Catholic Bishops.' I know that Lord Halifax is simply incapable of writing with the object of deceiving any one. Point 4 was the following: '*Epistola praedicti Vicecomitis ita scripta est ut Episcopum, qui astutiam subtilem hujus sectae non cognosceret, sicut eam cognoscit Eminentia Vestra, facile decipere posset.*'

"My meaning, though not fully expressed in the above point, was that a letter emanating from a body which is able by subtle arguments to convince itself that it represents the Catholic Church in this country, while it regards us as schismatics and intruders, might easily deceive a Bishop in Spain unacquainted with such subtleties.

"The letter was not intended for publication; and I regret that what was intended only as brief notes of information upon a matter of grave importance should have been published in a form likely to give unnecessary pain and offence."

The Cardinal, however, felt that something more was due to Lord Halifax than this public explanation, and he wrote to him privately as follows :—

"*2nd November*, 1894.

"It is now a week since the unfortunate publication of the badly translated Latin letter which I thought it

my duty to send to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. I therefore venture to write directly to you to say how grieved I am at the pain I have caused you. I need not repeat what I said in my letter of correction to the *Times;* I am sure you will not suspect me of even thinking that you could wilfully deceive. I am the more pained by the publication of the private letter of brief notes sent to the Cardinal, because I have all along felt the necessity of charity and sympathy in dealing with the High Church movement, whilst at the same time I guarded myself against being misunderstood, against holding out false hopes, against want of perfect fidelity to the truth as I see it and to my duty. As I see things, you are so near the Catholic Church and yet so far away. You are so good and sincere, and yet in so singular a position, that I am drawn in two directions: it is difficult for one so little skilled in the use of language as I am to combine one's thoughts and to present everything in due proportion and relation; but perhaps I have already said too much, and you will think that I am making bad worse by going on. I will therefore only add an expression of my kindest regards and an assurance that I will continue constantly to recommend you and yours to Our Lord in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Pardon this long letter."

Lord Halifax's reply was generous and like him :—

"Bovey Tracey,
"*November 4th*, 1894.

"My dear Lord,—I received your Eminence's letter only to-day. I am very grateful for it. I want your Eminence really to believe that though I was distressed at

what had been written to Spain, thinking it did not help the cause of peace, and feeling too that what I had said did not deserve it (it had never entered into my head for a moment that any one could misunderstand a letter which spoke of the 'Church of England' and the Province of Canterbury and York), I did not for an instant think, however others might take it, that your Eminence meant to impute to me any intention to deceive.

"I never could have thought such a thing at any time, much less—if there can be a less or more about a thing in itself impossible—knowing your Eminence as I do, and after the many kindnesses I have received at your hands.

"I will only add that had there been any pain to myself, it would be more than wiped out by the thought that your Eminence will sometimes remember me at the Altar—and in your prayers.

"Thanking your Eminence again for a letter which touches me deeply, I am, my dear Lord,

"Your Eminence's very sincere and faithful

"HALIFAX."

Writing to Mr. Wilfrid Ward, the Cardinal said: "Strange that after writing my letter to you, which you will get by the post which brings this, I received yours and the enclosure which I now return. I had also written to Lord Halifax.

"I am told that *astutia* in Latin does not necessarily carry the meaning of cunning, and is often used in a good sense—but this does not matter. I really meant that a set of people who can honestly persuade themselves that they are one with the 'ancient Church of England' and

are 'Catholics,' and can write this to the Primate of Spain, are the victims of most subtle and ingenious theories. I am also convinced, from my knowledge of the Spanish Bishops, that they might most easily have understood Lord Halifax's letter to have come from Catholics in communion with them. You may say that he spoke of Canterbury and York, but it does not at all follow that they would not confound Canterbury with Westminster. It was a letter from the 'ancient Church of England to the ancient Church of Spain'—both 'members of the Catholic Church.' The stern rejection of a connection with the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and the Irish Church would easily and naturally confirm the impression that the letter was from a Catholic in our sense—at least that is my mature conviction. Again, it will require much explanation to show why, if the Church of England can consecrate Bishops for Gibraltar with jurisdiction over Rome, and for Jerusalem, &c., it should hesitate to consecrate Cabrera for Spanish Protestants.

"I felt that had Lord Halifax written so as not to have been certainly misunderstood, I should have written nothing. But people who go so far as to communicate in our churches abroad ought not to be astonished if one warns Bishops against them when their language, however honest and sincere, is so absolutely misleading. Such is my view. The misfortune is that the private letter was published and is translated. Again, surely Lord Halifax must be under some strange hallucination if he imagines there could be the slightest use in approaching the Protestant Bishops on the subject of Reunion—the conditions for them must be absolutely impossible. But I shall be very glad to talk these matters over with you

and Lord Halifax, and to do what I can to smooth the path for those who might enter upon it. But I can quite see that there will be no kindly feeling among the Protestants towards

"Yours afftly.,
"H. C. V."

A postscript ran: "I am genuinely and deeply grieved at having wounded Lord Halifax by what was certainly not intended."

There is more self-revelation in the following letter in reply to one from the Duke of Norfolk:—

"As to the Toledo incident, after having gone through a period of sickly feeling occasioned by the publication of a private letter, rendered twice over mischievous by the translation, I have come to the conclusion that Providence overrules our actions and often directs them in spite of ourselves to a wise end. I believe that it is supremely important for me to be perfectly clear and explicit on the points which were put, brutally of course, in the Toledo letter. It will not be necessary to insist very much more on them—they are at last understood: so also as to Anglican Orders *at last!* I have written to the Card. of Toledo (1) about the Halifax misrepresentation, and speaking highly of him; (2) explaining the position of religious affairs here, the working on towards the Church of his party, &c. . . . If this letter is published later in England, I do not think there will be much reason to regret the plain speaking, which, of course, has now placed me in a very unsympathetic position, and I shall not be out of it until my whole attitude is understood.

"I am very sorry for having given you and other friends

so much pain and annoyance, but I cannot take quite so gloomy a view of the ultimate prospect as you seem to do. Pray always write to me with the greatest freedom and openness. I feel that I need the help of friends below as well as from God above to keep such a one as I am at all right and free from blundering on this critical and dangerous pinnacle! God bless you!—H. C. V."

The further letter to the Archbishop of Toledo was published subsequently, but for the present reader it is no more than a document of recapitulation.

About this time I received a friendly warning from Mr. Wilfrid Ward that it would be only prudent if the *Tablet* were to be a little less positive on the subject of Anglican Orders. Mr. Ward thought it probable that investigations then going on would shortly result in a more or less complete change in the official attitude of the Holy See on the subject. A few days later the Cardinal asked me to go for a walk with him, and I took the opportunity of telling him what Mr. Ward had said, and generally of talking over the Reunion movement. I put the question, "Is there any danger that Rome may be rushed into taking any step which might afterwards be regretted?" He replied, "I don't think so. The only thing that is likely, and the only thing that the Anglicans are asking for, is a reopening of the question of Anglican Orders. But that is an issue so intimately bound up with the history of the Reformation period in this country, and so dependent upon a knowledge of the writings and characters of the English Reformers, that it could never be decided by a Commission consisting only of French or Italian scholars, without previous reference to English experts." He went on to say that he would

be undoubtedly consulted as to the selection of such experts.

All this time the friends of the Reunion movement had been exceedingly active in Rome. Following up their declared policy of treating the question of Anglican Orders as a point of contact, as the chosen subject for a first exchange of explanations, they were directing all their efforts to getting the matter reopened, and now were confident of success. Clearly the recognition of the Orders of the Church of England could not be a matter of barter. Still, further research might lead to the conclusion that if not certainly valid, they were at least not certainly invalid. That would have this practical consequence, that then convert clergymen wishing to become Catholic priests would be ordained only conditionally. If that decision followed from a re-examination of the evidence it would be perfectly legitimate, and yet could be regarded as equivalent to a concession to Anglican views, and as removing a fruitful source of irritation. At the same time there was always the possibility—and at least one distinguished French scholar thought there was much more than a possibility—that the evidence would compel an admission of the certain validity of the disputed Orders. Altogether there was a contagious atmosphere of enthusiasm in Rome, and the hopes that the English people, or great groups of them, were about to return to the One Fold never ran higher than in the closing weeks of 1894.

Before the year was ended Abbot Gasquet had an interview with Cardinal Vaughan. He brought the grave news that, if the leaders of the Reunion movement were well informed, Leo XIII had definitely decided to write

a personal letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The Cardinal felt that if such a letter were written, it could only be as the result of a complete misconception as to the views of the Archbishops, and indeed of the whole position of the Church of England. Such a letter must necessarily be in substance an invitation to the Archbishops to come and make their submission. The Cardinal knew that to send such an invitation was useless and could lead only to unpleasantness and disappointment. He urged Abbot Gasquet, who was already due in Rome on several pieces of important business, to start without delay, and he himself went a week later.

The Cardinal kept no diary at this time, but he wrote several letters to an intimate friend, and as a postscript to one of them are the words: "Keep these letters for me, as I keep no other notes, for further use."

The letters were obviously written in haste, but they suffice as a rough record of the writer's impressions and feelings at the time. Cardinal Vaughan arrived at the English College in Rome on the evening of January 19th, 1895. He writes: "The Pope heard of my arrival at once, and I was summoned to an audience the next day at twelve o'clock. After an affectionate greeting, he asked me if I could give him anything interesting from England." The Cardinal then describes how he told the Holy Father about the recent resolutions of the English Hierarchy as to the presence of Catholic students at Oxford and Cambridge. After the conversation had lasted some time, the Pope suddenly changed the subject. "'But now,' he said, 'tell me about the Anglicans. The Pope can do much for them, they desire to hear him; they tell me that the Catholics of London' (meaning *me*)

'are not popular with the Anglican dignitaries. There is some jealousy. Leave it to the Pope. The Vicar of Christ will be able to do something. I hear they are on the point of coming over. They are timid, not knowing whether to go backwards or forward. I must write something.' I let him go on, and then told him that there was no chance of Corporate Reunion—we can look only to increasing the number of units who come over. I warned him that a letter addressed to the Anglicans might easily be used as a ground for keeping back conversions. They would say, 'The Pope is by degrees coming to terms, we must remain where we are.' I told him of the effect produced already in this direction by the report that he was going to write to the Protestant Archbishops. I assured him they are anxious only to strengthen their own position and to keep waverers from Rome; that they are all opposed to the supremacy of the Pope, and that his letter could not alter that. 'Ah then, if they are opposed to the doctrine of the authority of the Vicar of Christ, that is different. How is it they cannot see that the Church must have a head? &c., &c.' Finally, he said he would issue an Encyclical on the Church and her Head in the middle of this year, if he lived so long. I chimed in, 'That would be excellent; and if your Holiness would give two or three paragraphs of such an Encyclical to the Anglicans, kind words to them should be accompanied with the doctrines which they have yet to learn.' He liked the idea, and then went on to Anglican Orders, &c. He hoped I would stay 'months in Rome.' I said, 'Only till March 12th.' 'Ah, for St. Gregory, Cardinal Manning's title and yours.' He then told me to come again as often as I liked.

"After this I went up to see the Secretary of State. We talked of Dalbus and Anglican Orders, and I pointed out the mischief done by some of these Frenchmen in taking up matters they do not properly understand. The Cardinal pointed out that Dalbus had desired to get a letter of approval from the Pope for his pamphlet on Anglican Orders, but that that was impossible, so he gave him a civil letter from himself, which was not compromising. I said I had understood it so, but the Anglicans had taken it for a half approval. He also was very kind and polite. There are all sorts of wild ideas in Rome as to the proximate conversion of England. People are idiotic on the subject, but Propaganda is all right, and knows better. The Pope has a little cold, but it is not serious. I am going to say a Novena of Masses in the Crypt of St. Peter over the body of St. Peter. The first will be on Monday, the second February 1st, the third on the Purification. All for the conversion of souls in England. So you may join with me by your intention at eight o'clock on those days. St. Peter must do something more for England, and we must insist with him. It will be most easy for you to unite in my Masses on those days. What is space to Our Lord? Your soul may be at the Mass in the crypt and near the body of St. Peter. So I have invited you, and do not say Nay."

Cardinal Vaughan's attempts to explain the real position of parties in the Church of England were not as immediately successful as he had hoped. The Pope had heard so much of the Cardinal's prejudices against Anglicans that, though he listened to him, he did so, perhaps, with certain reservations, as to a man whose

statements on a particular subject must be taken with an allowance for the colour likely to be given to them by the strength of his convictions. Abbot Gasquet arrived in Rome on the last day of January, 1895, and shortly afterwards was received by Leo XIII. The Abbot had already been commissioned by the Pope to prepare a memorandum upon the traditional way in which Anglican Orders had been regarded by the Holy See, and as to the reasons for that attitude. As soon as the Pope saw him he began to pour out his hopes for the conversion of England. He told how the whole nation was being drawn to Catholicism, and spoke of the wonderful change which had come over the Anglican Church. His rapid speech as he drew a picture which might have been approximately true if it had had relation only to a single group in the English Church Union, left Abbot Gasquet no opportunity of intervention. At last pausing, the Pope exclaimed, "Is it not true?" The Abbot took the opportunity of reinforcing the warnings Cardinal Vaughan had already given and offering an exact account of the various parties in the Established Church. The disillusion came slowly, and the Pope repeatedly appealed to Mgr. Merry del Val, who was present at the interview, as to whether he could confirm what was said. Mgr. Merry del Val, himself half an Englishman, and since then the Cardinal Secretary of State, knew England well, and could but testify to the truth of what the Abbot had told. The Pope then desired that Cardinal Rampolla, who had been specially sympathetic to the Anglican negotiators, should be sent for. When the Cardinal came the Pope asked the Abbot to repeat what he had said. That interview was decisive, and the Pope knew that the

dream of Corporate Reunion was not to come true in his time.

He was not less eager, however, still to prepare the way for what might come some day. If there was no use now in appealing to the Anglican Archbishops, he could still address the English people and make perfectly clear the conditions upon which Reunion was possible. It would have helped Abbot Gasquet in his task if he had been able to show Leo XIII the following extract from a letter addressed to Lord Halifax a few weeks before, on December 14th, 1894, by the Archbishop of Canterbury: "And I must be pardoned for saying, what it is only the part of friendship to say, that I am afraid that you have lived for years so exclusively with one set of thinkers, and entered so entirely into the usages of one class of churches, that you have not before you the state of religious feeling and activity in England with the completeness with which any one attempting to adjust the relations between Churches ought to have the phenomena of his own side clearly and minutely before him."

In a letter—one of the series already referred to—undated, but certainly written in February, 1895, Cardinal Vaughan wrote: "The last two days I have had a good deal of anxiety. There has been much talk of the Papal letter to the Protestant Archbishops. I have come to a clear view of matters, at least thus far. And I ask, What does the Pope want of England? Conversion. And what is this? A work wholly supernatural and divine. And how is it to be brought about? Well, in the first place and principally, and in the last place—by God Himself. Therefore let the Pope write a letter to us and to all in England who are seeking to know

the truth and to do the Will of Jesus Christ. And in that letter he should appear as his Divine Master when He taught men how to pray—'Ask, and ye shall receive, seek, and ye shall find, knock, &c.' In this character the Vicar of Christ ought to present himself to the people of England. Theological arguments, historical references, they will try to refute—they know sufficiently of these things for controversy. It is the will and the heart that need to be moved more than the intellect. I have spoken to several—some say that this is not the line for the Pope to take; some seem to think it rather eccentric and useless. Two days ago I had a long conversation on the subject with Cardinal Rampolla, the Secretary of State. He heartily endorsed and embraced my view. I urged upon him the need of trusting more and more thoroughly to the supernatural in the central government of the Church. He warmly responded. Finally he offered to represent and back my ideas with the Pope. I therefore yesterday handed in a long paper on this subject of the supernatural and prayer as the way to obtain divine results. It was a curious incident that yesterday we kept in Rome the Feast of Our Lord's Prayer, and so I added those words to the date. I had also found in Father Ignatius Spencer's journal kept in 1844 that when he visited Belgium for the purpose of obtaining prayers everywhere for the conversion of England, he went first to the Papal Nuncio in Brussels to ask his aid. He promised to promote the Apostolate of Prayer and spoke to all the Belgian Bishops about it. The name of that Nuncio was *Pecci!*

"A few weeks ago the Pope was far from disposed to adopt this line. He said he wished to enlighten the intel-

lects of men. If, however, this line be the right one, I doubt not but that he will take it. If he appear before England as the Doctor of Prayer like his Divine Master, no better preparation could be made for any doctrinal Encyclical he may issue later on. This is a matter which needs much prayer, because the Pope has to be guided by Our Lord and the Holy Ghost, for of himself he is a man, and would naturally follow mere human instincts unless aided from above. A great work for the conversion of England is thus now in the balance, and next week or so may determine whether I am under a delusion or not as to some of the measures that should be adopted by the Holy Father. The Pope's character is to undertake nothing which he does not first make entirely his own. It must go through his own mind and come out as part of himself. My letter to him has been a very bold thing to do; but I have done it very deliberately. Lord Halifax is expected out here and the Pope will see him—nay, wishes to see him. Halifax and his party are anxious to get some kind of recognition—anything that can suggest a hope of recognition will serve their purpose. They wish to keep people from becoming Catholics individually and tell them to wait for a Corporate Reunion. This will never be till after the Last Judgment—and all the poor souls that will be born and will die in heresy before the Reunion must suffer in their own souls for this chimera of Corporate Reunion. They are also most anxious to get some kind of assurance about their Orders, at least the statement that they are possibly valid! But this again is to keep souls back from submission to the Church. I have my hands quite full

with pressing these facts on people here. At the same time it is most important to keep in touch with these people, and if possible to lead them into the truth. The Holy Father is full of charity, and full of hope, and of a desire to accomplish a great work. I therefore hope he may begin by the supernatural weapon of prayer. I hope you will help in prayer during the next week or so specially."

In this letter we may see the genesis of the Pope's letter *Ad Anglos* and the great doctrinal Encyclical *De Unitate*, which were the preludes to the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* containing the final decision as to Anglican Orders.

The Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII, *Ad Anglos*, was published in England on the 22nd of April, 1895. It was addressed, not to the Anglican Archbishops or to the Church of England, but to the whole nation—"To the English people who seek the Kingdom of Christ in the unity of the Faith." It was simply an invitation to the English people to pray ceaselessly for light to know the truth in all its fulness. The *Tablet* said at the time:—

"The Holy Father is not addressing the Anglican body, but all the English who desire the union of Christendom. He is not dealing with any particular ecclesiastical organisation, but rather inviting all Christians who desire a particular end to join with him in praying for it. His method is not diplomacy, or negotiation, but simply prayer. It is precisely this indifference to all the ways of human diplomacy, and the frankness of the appeal to the supernatural, which stamps the character of the Encyclical. Disappointment is expressed

in many quarters because the Pope is silent upon such questions as those of Anglican Orders and clerical celibacy. Such disappointment is born of a radical misconception of the Pope's purpose, and from a notion that Leo XIII had been contemplating a sort of ecclesiastical round-table conference, at which give-and-take and compromise and *finesse* were to bring about the union of Christendom. Some irresponsible persons were so impressed with this idea, that they already speak of the Apostolic Letter as a futility. We must sweep away and dismiss utterly from our minds any misapprehension of this sort before we can begin to appreciate the memorable appeal *Ad Anglos*. From end to end there is not an allusion to any of the ordinary human means for bridging over differences. The whole world of diplomacy is left far away, and we are lifted into a purer and serener atmosphere—the atmosphere of prayer."

Towards the close of the letter *Ad Anglos*, addressing himself to his own spiritual subjects, Leo XIII called upon Catholics to recite the Rosary for the conversion of England, and granted certain indulgences for doing so. Noting this, the *Guardian* said, on April 27th, 1895:—

"Probably the fact that the religious practices which are conspicuously mentioned in the letter—besides prayer to God—are the granting of indulgences, the use of the Rosary, and the practice of prayer to Mary and the Saints will be taken as evidence that the Roman Church is not prepared to reconsider any question of doctrine or worship. Those who adopt this view, however, can hardly have noticed that this part of the letter is addressed exclusively to English Roman Catholics, and simply bids them direct

their ordinary devotions to the special object of restoring unity. It would have been difficult for the Pope to introduce such a recommendation to his own special children in any other way."

Cardinal Vaughan's paper, commenting on this passage, said :—

"It would be difficult to imagine anything much more disheartening than these words. How is any common understanding possible when the leading Anglican journal can seriously suppose that to soothe Protestant susceptibilities or to smooth the way for conversions, or for any gain whatever, the Catholic Church would abandon the Rosary, and renounce the intercession of the Mother of God? It is no kindness not to speak frankly to men who can feed their hopes with such vain dreams as these."

Even Lord Halifax seems to have regretted these open references to such unpopular things as the use of the Rosary and the Invocation of the Saints. No doubt they were calculated to chill the welcome with which many Anglicans would otherwise have been ready to hail the Encyclical. Something of this feeling seems to have been reflected in a letter of this period from Mr. Wilfrid Ward, who throughout had done all that was possible to smooth the way for Lord Halifax's hopes. The trend of the letter appears sufficiently from the Cardinal's reply :—

"Lord Halifax told me of his regret, and I replied that had there been no distinctive note such as that sounded in the address to Catholics, the Holy Father would have laid himself open to imputations of a certain want of openness, of dishonesty, or at least to the accusation of an astute diplomatic trick. He might have taken in and conciliated some by such *suppressio veri* for a time.

Many papers have pointed out that the parts the Protestants dislike are addressed not to them but to Catholics. I believe that the Pope was as much inspired in the last part as in the first ; and he has thereby saved the situation from what would have been misleading and a muddle. I also am greatly pleased with the reception given to the Apostolic Letter."

On this point, at least, the Archbishop of Canterbury agreed with the Cardinal. Writing to Lord Halifax, he said : "X. thinks the Encyclical excellent, except that it names two things sufficient to spoil its effect—Indulgences and the Cultus of the Virgin. I said I thought that the Pope was trying his best to be honest, that hereafter it might not be said that his letter had compromised doctrine or held out any hope of modification." There is an entry also in the Archbishop's diary of this period quoted by his son which shows how well he had grasped the situation : "A useful talk with Lady Crawford. Her feeling is strong on Halifax's behalf. But she admits that he minimises the difficulties on his own side, and minimises the difficulties that good Romanists must feel. If the difficulties on their side can be explained and smoothed away, why have they made so many suffer the loss of all things for their sakes ?" Why, indeed ! Altogether the reception of the Apostolic Letter by the writers in the English Press was marked by much kindliness of feeling and was a source of much gratification to the aged Pontiff.

But, though Lord Halifax considered the Pope's reference to the Rosary and Indulgences deplorably injudicious, his incurable hopefulness quickly reasserted itself, and at the annual meeting of the English Church Union in June, 1895, he was still confident that the

validity of Anglican Orders would yet be established. After noting that the efforts of the Jesuits and the English Roman Catholic authorities had so far been completely baffled, he said :—

"The failure of these attempts, which is certainly due to the personal intervention of the Pope himself and of Cardinal Rampolla, is a sufficient proof of what the feelings and dispositions of the Vatican are. These are as friendly as possible, and if the letter addressed by the Pope to the English nation is well received, it is certain that Leo XIII is willing, and, indeed, is already preparing, to take other and more direct steps in the way of furthering a better understanding. Meanwhile, a revolution is being effected in the way the whole question of English Orders is being considered by such foreign ecclesiastics as have had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the *De Hierarchia Anglicana*, in which the argument for their validity has been admirably stated in Latin by the Rev. T. Lacey and the Rev. E. Denny. Hardly any one who has studied the book but admits how strong the case is for their validity. Great admiration has been excited by the preface prefixed to the treatise by the Bishop of Salisbury ; and, if nothing is done to divert the present current of feeling, there is every reason to believe that the question will be put on such a footing that it will be safe from the danger of any fresh attack such as has been made within the last six months, and that the opinions published by the Abbé Duchesne, Monsignor Gasparri, &c., will remain in possession of the field."

All that was fairly matter of opinion, but the following sentence was read at the time by all Catholics with something of a sense of bewilderment :—

"Were the Roman authorities convinced that the English Church really desired peace and union on the basis of the faith of the undivided Church, and that its theologians, without distinction of party, were prepared to consider favourably any explanations which might be offered—in order to see if Reunion might not be eventually possible without any sacrifice of principle on either side—I believe that the question of a recognition of the validity of English Orders would present comparatively little difficulty."

After reading these words Cardinal Vaughan may well have wondered whether there was ever to be an end to misunderstandings, and whether these dreamers would ever learn that the decision of the Holy See must follow and be determined by the evidence, and that the only thing that was even possible in the way of concession was to offer to examine and sift the evidence anew. To do so much Pope Leo had already made up his mind.

Cardinal Vaughan took the opportunity afforded by the annual Conference of the Catholic Truth Society once more to affirm that Reunion presupposes submission, and has nothing whatever to do with the question of Anglican Orders :—

"The air has been full lately of ideas suggestive of what is a useful and reasonable thing in all mere human differences, namely, that they should be settled by mutual concessions—in other words, by compromise. I admit fully that it may seem hard to expect those who do not realise with us the fundamental principle on which the Church is built, to regard us as reasonable when we tell them that the first condition of Reunion must be that all should

accept—accept, mind, and not merely permit us still to hold—whatever the Church teaches and has defined on all matters of doctrine. They can, however, all see that if this be our firm and only standpoint, no purpose—certainly no honest and straightforward purpose—can be served by allowing any doubt to exist as to the possibility of compromise on any matter of doctrine. Fortunately, the Reunion of Christendom, so far as we are concerned, may be reduced to one simple consideration—to the solution of one point of difference. What, in the ultimate analysis, is the meaning of the Reunion of Christendom? It means a return to the constitutional union which existed before the break-up of Western Christendom in the sixteenth century. Until then all the nations of Europe, all the nations of Western Christendom, were united to the Apostolic See of Rome. There was not one of them which did not accept the authority of the See of Peter and profess spiritual allegiance and obedience to the Pope. It was a constitutional, corporate union of the head and the members. Reunion, then, must mean a return to the visible Union which formerly existed, when there was but one united body under one visible Head. Nothing else could be called Reunion without confusion of thought. Now it is best to be perfectly frank and definite. The kernel of the question of the Reunion of Christendom consists in the admission of the Roman claim that the Pope has received, by Divine right, authority to teach and govern the whole Church, as defined, for instance, in the Councils of Florence, Trent, and the Vatican, and as set forth by Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the formulary drawn up as a test of Catholic doctrine in 1413, and approved by the Convocation of Canterbury.

Or all this may be briefly summed up in the famous axiom of St. Ambrose, '*Ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia.*'"

In the same address he publicly announced that a commission of scholars would be appointed in Rome to consider the whole question of Anglican Orders.

The year 1896 saw the publication of the Encyclical *De Unitate*, which by the irony of things was destined to put an end to the movement in favour of Reunion, and also of the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, which laid to rest the vexed question of Anglican Orders. The *De Unitate*, known from its opening words as the *Satis Cognitum*, was published at the end of June. It was the natural sequence to the Letter *Ad Anglos*. The first document had exhorted all to prepare by prayer for the Reunion of Christendom, and the second stated the terms on which that Reunion might be brought about. The Encyclical was of great length, but its effect can be stated in a single sentence. It asserted as a first condition of Catholic unity the acceptance as of faith of the divinely appointed jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church. Everything taught by the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican is covered by that claim. Whatever else might be said of this Encyclical, none could deny that its meaning was absolutely clear. On this point, at least, friend and foe were agreed. The Cardinal's paper said :—

"To truth-seeking souls perplexed by the mists and the mirage which mischievous illusions had gathered round the path of duty and salvation, there could surely be no more genuine or paternal kindness than this noble frankness of plain speech in due season. With the love of Truth, not less than the love of souls in his heart,

Leo XIII has left nothing undone to make smooth the return-path to the fold, while at the same time never even by a syllable has he sought to minimise or disguise from the souls whom he invites the fulness and the sacred rigour of the unchangeable conditions of Catholic Communion. No one who seeks admission at her gate can say that the Catholic Church has hidden or kept back an iota of what she requires of him. It is this Apostolic charity of honest speech and plain dealing which seems to stand out among the most salient characteristics of the Encyclical."

The comment of the *Times*, speaking from the opposite pole, was to the same effect :—

"Like the epistle *Ad Anglos*, which Leo XIII gave to the world about fifteen months ago, this declaration of Papal policy is dignified, temperate, and charitable. But, even more than the former utterance of the Roman Pontiff, it makes clear that in no single particular, either of doctrine or of discipline, will the claims of the Papal See be relaxed to meet the aspirations for what is known as Reunion among a section of those bred up in the faith of the Church of England. The Pope leaves those who persisted in misinterpreting his original letter no shadow of an excuse for their delusion. The terms on which alone reunion is declared to be possible are plain and simple. They are complete and unhesitating acceptance, not only of the primacy, but of the paramount and absolute predominance, of the Roman Pontiff over all professing to belong to the Christian Church, the entire submission of the heart and mind, the intelligence and conscience of Christendom to the decrees of the Papal See."

Cardinal Vaughan at once sent the following letter to the *Times* :—

"The Holy Father has just published an Encyclical on Christian Unity. Though addressed to the Bishops of the Church, it may be useful to point out that, like the Letter *Ad Anglos*, it concerns all in England who take an active part in the movement for the Reunion of Christendom.

"A common basis of agreement is required. Some of our countrymen think that Corporate Reunion may be achieved on the basis of an amicable federation of independent communities calling themselves Christian. Others are for tying up what they call the Roman, Greek, and Anglican branches or obediences into one; yet so that each shall be independent of the others. Others believe that Corporate Reunion may be attained by professing all the doctrines taught by the See of Rome, with exceptions. Others, again, would regard the Church of Christ as an invisible creation, internally uniting all good men in bonds of faith and charity, while externally all such bonds are cruelly torn asunder. How far these and the like theories are admissible by Catholics may be gathered from this Encyclical *De Unitate*.

"In his earnest desire to promote Reunion the Holy Father last year invited all who seek the Kingdom of God in the unity of faith to address prayers to God for light and guidance. This year he has carried the project a step further by publishing an authoritative statement as to the basis on which Reunion, whether of individuals or of corporate bodies, with the Catholic Church is possible. With true and considerate charity he has fully and clearly explained the grounds, founded in revelation and reason, of the terms or conditions which he deems essential. They

will come with no surprise to Catholics and to the educated, by whom they were generally known. But some, perhaps a considerable number, have been under the strange delusion that it was in the power of the Holy Father to modify, or even to dispense altogether with, the ancient terms of communion, in order to bring about so desirable and blessed an end as the Reunion of Christendom.

"Whatever be the reception accorded to this most important Letter *De Unitate*, all will admire its unreserved sincerity and its paternal charity. It will, no doubt, dispel vague and hazy theories, which are rich only in delusive hopes, while, by God's grace, it will make clear the path to all who believe they ought to walk in it."

There is no doubt that the Cardinal welcomed the Pope's outspoken words. They put an end once and for ever to the mischievous illusion that there was some easy royal high-road to the Catholic Church, some way to reconciliation apart from the way of submission.

CHAPTER VI

ROME AND LAMBETH: THE POPE, THE CARDINAL, AND ANGLICAN ORDERS

SHORTLY after the announcement at the Preston Conference in September, 1895, that the Holy See was about formally to reopen the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, a committee was formed in London, under the presidency of Cardinal Vaughan, to consider all the evidence. This committee was composed of about a dozen leading theologians, all of them well acquainted with English Reformation history. From these a sub-committee of three was appointed as an executive to prepare a small treatise embodying the results of the deliberations of the whole committee. In March, 1896, a further step was taken, and Leo XIII appointed an International Commission to meet in Rome and examine and report upon the question in all its bearings. Clearly it was out of the question for the Holy See to try to find commissioners who should be impartial in the sense that they could approach the question without prepossessions and with an open mind. That attitude was almost impossible for men who had made a study of the subject. What was possible was to choose competent scholars who were also fair-minded men and open to argument. At the same time the known opinions on either side were so far taken into account, that care was used to see that both parties should be equally represented on the Commission.

As at first constituted the Commission consisted of six members—Padre de Augustinis, S. J., M. l'Abbé Duchesne, Mgr. Gasparri, Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B., Father David Fleming, O.S.F., and Canon Moyes. Of these the three foreign members were avowedly so far in sympathy with the Anglican claims, that they favoured a verdict which should at least justify ordination *sub conditione*, while opposed to it were the three English members who had been appointed by Cardinal Vaughan.

The Commission assembled in Rome towards the middle of March, 1896. It held its first conference on Tuesday, 24th, in a room on the first floor of the Vatican Palace, known as the Sala delle Congregazioni. At this and all subsequent sittings of the Commission Cardinal Mazella presided. He took no deliberative part in the discussions of the Commission, but afterwards, when the report came to be considered by the Cardinals of the Holy Office, the fact that he had heard all the arguments on both sides, and so had become familiar with every phase of the controversy, was calculated to lend great weight to his opinions. The only other person present at the deliberations of the Commission was Mgr. Merry del Val, who acted as Secretary. After the preliminary meeting it was suggested that though Mgr. Duchesne and his colleagues, who were in favour of the Anglican claims, had the advantage of the unofficial assistance of the Rev. Mr. Lacey and the Rev. Mr. Puller and other members of the Church of England, they might yet be at a certain disadvantage in not having an English representative of their own views actually on the Commission.[1]

[1] Messrs. Lacey and Puller came to Rome and acted throughout with the Pro-Anglican side of the Commission, much as solicitors who work with

When this was represented to Cardinal Vaughan, and it was accordingly proposed that Father T. Scannell, who in this country had been regarded as sympathetic with the Anglican claim, should be sent out, the Cardinal not only assented at once, but volunteered to pay all Father Scannell's expenses. The Commission was now unevenly divided. To redress the balance a well-known Spanish Capuchin theologian, Fr. Josè Calasanzio de Llevaneras, was appointed to be the eighth member.[1]

The announcement of the *personnel* of the Commission seemed to give general satisfaction in England at the time. Lord Halifax, speaking in April at a meeting of the English Church Union, after once more explaining that he and his friends welcomed the inquiry, not because they had any doubts, but as a means to an end, as a way to that better understanding which was a necessary preliminary to Reunion, went on to claim that the choice of the commissioners showed the Pope to be acting with the same object in view: "How completely the Pope understands this is proved by the whole course of his action, and by his having himself placed on the Commission the Abbé Duchesne, Mgr. Gasparri, Father Scannell, and the Padre de Augustinis, a Jesuit and a Professor of the Roman College, all of whom are known in various ways to be favourable to the claims of the Church of England." The task of the Commission was to consider all the evidence, to weigh it and sift it,

counsel, supplying them with information from England as required, and searching in the Vatican and other libraries. One of them had an informal letter from the Archbishop of York.

It is interesting to note that of those present at the meetings of the Commission, three have since become Cardinals—Mgr. Merry del Val, Mgr. Gasparri, and Fr. de Llevaneras.

and to present a series of reports. The evidence thus collected was to be laid before the Cardinals of the Holy Office, presided over by the Pope in person, for a final decision.

The task of the Commission was greatly simplified by Abbot Gasquet's discovery of certain very important documents in the archives of the Vatican in the spring of 1895. Obviously in any inquiry as to the validity of Anglican Orders it would be very important to ascertain what was the attitude of contemporary Catholics towards the Edwardine Ordinal. Specially how did Cardinal Pole act when he came to London with the express object of reconciling England to the Holy See? He was sent by Julius III as his Legate and as his "Angel of peace and love." He had every possible motive to do whatever he could to smooth the way to submission, and we know that in the case of the confiscated Church property he made wholesale concessions. We may be sure that if, consistently with the known facts, he could in 1555 have acknowledged or regularised the ordinations which had taken place in the two and a half years during which the Edwardine Ordinal had been in force, he would have done so. From this point of view Cardinal Pole's action is of the deepest interest. It is in fact the judgment and practice of the Church pronounced and applied to the question of Anglican Orders at a time when the issues were still fresh in the minds of all, when the chief persons concerned were still living, when the historical evidence which bears on the question was actual and lay easily within the reach of all inquirers. When the controversy was first forced upon the attention of Cardinal Vaughan the uniform practice of the Church with regard

to Anglican Ordinations for the last two hundred years was, of course, well known. The question had been raised in 1844 in the case of Dr. Ives, Anglican Bishop of North Carolina, U.S.A. It was decided in Rome, in accordance with a precedent dating back to 1704, when an inquiry was held as to the validity of Anglican Orders in the case of Dr. Gordon, Bishop of Galloway. The question was examined historically, canonically, and theologically, with the result that Clement XI, by a decree dated April 17th, 1704, declared the Orders to be invalid, "through defect of form, matter, and due intention." The Gordon case itself followed an earlier precedent of 1684, that of a certain French Protestant, who had been ordained in accordance with the Edwardine Ordinal. In both cases the reasons for the decision were not special to them, but of universal application. It may be added that technically the case of 1684, although decided by the Reporter of the Commission in a sense hostile to the validity of Anglican Orders, was not carried to its issue of formal condemnation on account of the political troubles of the moment. With regard to Cardinal Pole, however, although the fact that he consistently treated the Orders conferred by means of the Edwardine Ordinal as invalid was not in doubt, the circumstances and reasons for the condemnation were involved in some obscurity.

In January, 1895, Abbot Gasquet, having been entrusted by Leo XIII with the task of drawing up a memorandum as to the traditional way in which Anglican Orders had been regarded by the Holy See, undertook the formidable task of searching through all the Papal Registers of Paul IV. There were rows of folio volumes, each of 800 or 1,000 pages, and with no index.

The Abbot worked for a week without success, and might have gone on working for many weeks more but for the impulse which led him suddenly to try his fortune with the last volume of the series, and there he found the Bull *Praeclara Charissimi*, dated June 20th, 1555.

When Cardinal Pole arrived in England he found the clergy composed of two classes: those who had been ordained under the Catholic Pontifical and those who were ordained under the new Anglican Ordinal. How were the latter to be treated? Pole referred the question, together with less important matters connected with the confiscated Church property, and irregular appointments to benefices, to Rome. Three delegates were sent as Ambassadors to the Holy See—Sir Edward Carne, Lord Montagu, Bishop Thirlby of Ely (Norwich). With them they took a full and minute description of the Anglican rites of Ordination, and this document was found by Abbot Gasquet among the collection of documents registered as despatches of Pole's *Nunziature in Inghilterra.*

But more important for the Roman authorities than any document was the living witness of Bishop Thirlby. No man of his generation was better qualified to enlighten the Cardinals of the Holy Office as to the significance of the changes which had taken place in England. A Bishop under Henry VIII, he held his See under Edward VI, throughout the schism, and had taken a leading part in the debate which preceded the introduction of the First Prayer Book of 1549. He knew the changes introduced by the new Ordinal, and why they were made, and was in a position to explain the significance of the systematic elimination of everything referring to the sacrificial powers

of the priesthood. The Bull *Praeclara Charissimi*, issued on the 20th of June, 1555, deals with all the points which Cardinal Pole had submitted to the Holy See. In regard to the validity of Ordinations according to the Edwardine Rite Paul IV declares that "those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical Orders by any one not a Bishop or Archbishop validly ordained are bound to receive these Orders again from their Ordinary, and in the meantime must not minister in the said Orders." A few months later, on October 30th, 1555, the Pope issued a Brief, or letter, in explanation of the Bull. To make his meaning perfectly clear Paul IV wrote: "We, wishing to remove all doubt, and opportunely to provide for the peace of conscience of those who during the schism were promoted to Holy Orders, by expressing more clearly the mind and intention which we had in the aforesaid letters, declare that it is only those Bishops and Archbishops who are not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church, who cannot be said to have been validly and lawfully ordained. It is for this reason that persons promoted to Orders by such men have not received Orders, and therefore are bound to receive such Orders from their Ordinaries."

In the official précis endorsed on the Brief we read: "He declares that only those Bishops and Archbishops who were not ordained or consecrated in the Form of the Church cannot be said to be duly and rightly ordained, and consequently the persons ordained by them ought to receive the said Orders anew from their Ordinary. But others who were ordained by Bishops and Archbishops who were ordained and consecrated in the Form of the Church, although they were schismatics and had received their

churches from Henry VIII and Edward VI, have received the character of the Orders bestowed on them, and lack only the execution, and consequently the dispensation of His Holiness and of the Legate has rehabilitated them to this execution."

When we bear in mind that the judgment of Paul IV had reference to the concrete case brought before him, its meaning is too plain to be mistaken. He was dealing with England where there were two sets of clergy—one ordained under the Pontifical and the other under the new Ordinal. The Pope had before him a full description of the rites used in the new Ordinal and then decided that recognition should be given only to those ordained by Bishops "in the Form of the Church." With two specific Ordination books before him the Pope decided the case, Pontifical *v.* Ordinal, and said in effect—Acknowledge the clergy made by Bishops ordained under the first, but ordain *de novo* clergy made by Bishops under the second.

Abbot Gasquet's success among the Archives of the Vatican was supplemented a few weeks later when, searching in the town library at Douai, he discovered a copy of the Bull *Praeclara Charissimi* entered in Cardinal Pole's register, with his attestation of having received it. This removed the doubt which might have been felt whether the Bull, though drawn up and entered in the Papal register, had ever in effect been promulgated. It will be noted that the Bull *Praeclara Charissimi*, condemning Anglican Orders on account of the inherent invalidity of the rite, was issued three years before the date assigned to the "Nag's Head" story. The discovery of these three documents not only shortened the labours of the Pontifical Commission, but, obviously, was well

calculated to have an important influence on the decision of the Holy See. Leo XIII had ordered that the whole question should be considered anew; but it was at least antecedently probable that the same evidence would bring the same verdict and that the facts which had convinced judges of the sixteenth century as to the invalidity of Anglican Orders would also serve to satisfy the judges of the nineteenth.[1]

Father Scannell arrived in Rome on Saturday, April 4th, and the second meeting of the Commission was held on the following Tuesday. For the next four weeks meetings were held twice and sometimes three times a week, each meeting lasting several hours. The intervals between the discussions were utilised by both sides for private conferences and in preparing written refutations of arguments already advanced. Absolute secrecy was imposed on all the members of the Commission, and an armed sentry stood before the doors of the antechamber to secure the complete privacy of the proceedings. There was at first some hesitation as to which of the two languages which were common to all the members of the Commission, its President, and its Secretary should be the medium of the discussions. Some were urgent in favour of French; but the Englishmen had a shrewd suspicion that the use of French might tend to prolong the debates inordinately, and so finally Latin was chosen.

[1] Until the reasons which underlay the decisions of the past had been clearly ascertained there was always the possibility of finding that Anglican Orders had been treated as invalid on grounds which, in the light of modern scholarship, would be held insufficient. For instance, if it had been found that in Cardinal Pole's day they had been treated as invalid solely because the *porrectio instrumentorum* was wanting, undoubtedly the decision would have been disregarded.

I am indebted to a member of the Commission, Canon Moyes, for the following account of its procedure:—

"The method adopted by the Commission was similar to that observed by the Roman Congregations. Each member or group of members presented a printed statement of their opinion and the grounds upon which their conclusions rested. Copies of these *vota* were communicated to all other members, and copies of theirs received in return. Each one could further issue a reply to each, and thus a repeated exchange of written arguments constituted what we may call the documentary part of the discussion. The study and preparation of these documents occupied a considerable part of the intervals between the sessions. The sessions were devoted to the oral part of the discussion. A general programme, or agenda, was agreed upon by the members, a given point or number of points being taken for consideration each session. The member at the right hand of the President began by stating his opinion on the point and the arguments on which he relied for defending it. Each of the other members followed in turn, meeting or supporting these arguments, as the case might be, by such evidence as he could adduce for the purpose. When all had spoken, each member was free to add anything to what he had already said, or to reply to, or throw fresh light upon, any point that might have arisen in the course of the discussion, or to add any independent evidence which he might consider relevant to the inquiry. At certain sessions, when the work of the inquiry had reached given *étapes*, or well-defined stages, the Cardinal President obtained from the Commission the *ad interim* results of the investigations, not by expressing any opinion of his

own, but by dictating a few main questions, on which he required each member to state his conclusions in writing and deliver them for record to the Secretary. (This process is analogous to that of a judge who at various stages of a prolonged trial should put a series of points to the jury, but requiring from them, not a collective oral, but an individual written answer.) The action of the President was thus purely confined to guiding the orderliness of the discussion. On no occasion and in no way did it extend to any control, in the sense of suppressing or shutting out any consideration that could be offered, or debarring any point from discussion. Thus the freedom of debate was absolutely intact. The whole of the oral discussions, with the written answers and all other important pieces of written evidence, were admirably recorded each day in what was practically a verbatim report by the Secretary, and read for verification or correction in the form of minutes, or *acta*, at subsequent sessions.

"At the close of the Commission—that is, when its members by a unanimous vote had agreed that the subject had been sufficiently discussed—all these *acta*, with all the accompanying documents, including therefore the whole body of the evidence, passed upwards to the Holy Father and into the hands of the Congregation of the Cardinals, which formed the second court of inquiry. The lines upon which the discussion in the Commission proceeded were as follows: It was agreed that the Commission should first examine what was the nature and what were the grounds of previous decisions of the Holy See upon Anglican Orders. This investigation included an examination of all the documents relating to the mission of

Cardinal Pole (including the *Summarium* of Pole's petition which Abbot Gasquet had found in the Vatican Archives), the documents of the case of 1684 and those of the further case of 1704, with all the *vota* and correspondence connected therewith. It had for its object to ascertain not merely the facts whether or what the Holy See had decided, but what were the reasons upon which it acted, and whether they could be considered accurate in the light of theological and historical research at the present day. The whole *dossier* of the documents of the Commission of 1684 and 1704 was placed at the disposition of the Commission. The evidence of the former, which was practically decisive in the latter, was specially interesting, as it had been sometimes asserted in England that the practice of the Holy See unfavourable to the validity of Anglican Orders was based on decisions made at a time when Roman theologians were to a large extent in ignorance of the Eastern forms of Ordination. The documents of the Commission of 1685 revealed the fact not only that it was perfectly aware of the researches made by Morinus, but that the great Eastern scholar, Assemani, had himself taken part in its labours, and amongst the documents were transcripts of the Eastern Ordination forms made by his hands from the Pontifical used in the Greek and various Eastern Churches.

"After this the Commission proceeded to the second and main part of the inquiry, the consideration of the question of Anglican Orders in itself and on its own merits—viz., purely *ab initio*, apart from any consideration of any decision or practice of the Holy See affecting it, and devoting itself to the three main points: Have Anglican Orders a succession from a valid minister?

Have they been conferred with a valid form and intention? Under the first heading was examined the whole evidence for and against the consecration of Barlow. Under the second, which the Commission felt to be the main and decisive issue, was considered the sufficiency of the Anglican Ordinal. In this part of the inquiry the members had the fullest liberty to adduce any and every evidence from the earliest times bearing upon the nature of Holy Orders and the conditions of their validity. Finally, the Ordinal was examined in the light of its origin and history, according to the liturgical purpose for which it was constructed."

Visits of courtesy were interchanged between the members of the two camps into which the Commission was divided, and there were opportunities for informal conversation at the end of the sessions. That the four members of the Commission who favoured the validity of Anglican Orders not only fought every inch of the ground, but did so with the zeal and energy of eager advocates, is beyond doubt. Contemporary evidence as to the impression created by their conduct of the case is supplied by the references to them scattered through a series of letters written by one or other of the Commissioners to Cardinal Vaughan. The following extracts tell their own tale: "Here our conferences are going on just as usual. We had a long one this morning of more than two hours, and we are all well satisfied with the result. The opposition for the most part is not one which can be easily convinced, but we have fully stated our case, and our arguments go into the Acts, and we have full confidence that they will be appreciated when the case goes before the Holy Office. Our meetings take place now twice a week, and

the intervals are taken up in preparing statements and replies. N. called upon us and stayed for nearly an hour discussing the several issues. He is very frank and genial, but one who will evidently do his utmost in the cause he has undertaken." "The Opposition are evidently bent on a *sub conditione* decision and are not of a kind open to conviction, so that all we can do is to put our arguments as effectively as we can and stand firm in our voting. I hear on the other side that B. has said he is very well satisfied with what he has done, and that if the Archbishop of Canterbury only knew how he has fought for him he would give him a gold medal." "That the Opposition will leave nothing undone or untried is certain."

In the same letters we get a glimpse of Mr. Lacey and Mr. Puller, who not only visited all the Cardinals of the Holy Office under the guidance of the Abbé Portal, but seem to have visited almost every convent in Rome. Their descriptions of the spiritual life of the Church of England, and particularly of its monastic revival, appear to have impressed the nuns immensely, so that whole communities were engaged in prayer that any decision might be averted which was likely to hinder the movement in favour of Reunion.

As soon as the minutes of the discussions at each meeting of the Commission had been transcribed and put into order they were taken to the Holy Father. Leo XIII very quickly saw the direction in which the weight of evidence was tending. The growing certainty that Anglican Orders could not escape condemnation must have come almost as a disappointment to Pope Leo. He had so hoped that before he died he might see some step taken which would bring the

Reunion of Christendom visibly nearer. He began to see that Cardinal Vaughan's estimate of the situation was the right one.

On the other hand, the supporters of the Anglican claims in this country, as the work of the Commission drew to a close, were more and more confident that the result would be a change in the attitude of Rome, and that henceforth Anglican clergymen would be only conditionally ordained. Above all they were satisfied that an absolute condemnation was out of the question—that the Holy Office would simply remain silent if unable to affirm the validity of the impugned Orders. There are many passages in the confidential letters above cited which witness to the untiring energy with which the Anglican cause was pressed, and specially to the attempts which were made to ward off an adverse decision by persuading the Pope that it would have a fatal effect upon public opinion in England. Such sentences as these may serve to show what was believed in Rome at the time: "The whole group, with the Anglicans, will do their utmost to frighten the Pope, on the plea of hindering Reunion, either into giving a *sub conditione* decision, or into giving no decision at all." "N. tells me that the other side are bringing a great deal of influence to bear upon the Pope, and that he has received letters from many quarters impressing on him that if he gave any decision against Anglican Orders he would effectually close the door upon any hope of Reunion, not only now, but *for ever in the future*."

Quite in this strain is the famous letter which was written at this time—May, 1896—by Mr. Gladstone. Addressed to the Archbishop of York, it was at once

published and translated into Italian for the convenience of the Holy See. It created a deep impression in Italy, and was everywhere accepted as a manifesto representing the wishes of the High Church party. At the outset the writer made it clear that he took it for granted that there would be no decision adverse to Anglican Orders: "It is to the last degree improbable that a ruler of known wisdom would at this time put in motion the machinery of the Curia for the purpose of widening the breach, &c." Mr. Gladstone only glances at the calamity of an unfavourable decision, because he has been assured that such a thing is out of the question. "But the information which I have been allowed, through the kindness of Lord Halifax, to share altogether dispels from my mind every apprehension of this kind, and convinces me that, if the investigations of the Curia did not lead to a favourable result, wisdom and charity would in any case arrest them at such a point as to prevent their becoming an occasion and a means of embittering religious controversy."

Then was held out before the dazzled eyes of Rome the picture of the transformation which the Church of England had undergone. The following lines may be compared with the passage dealing with the same subject in Cardinal Vaughan's address at Preston in September, 1894:—

"The writer has viewed [continued Mr. Gladstone] with profound and thankful satisfaction, during the last half century and more, the progressive advance of a great work of restoration in Christian doctrine. It has not been wholly confined within his own country to the Anglican Communion; but it is best that he should speak of that which has been most under his eye. Within these limits, it has not been confined to doctrine but has extended to

Christian life and all its workings. The aggregate result has been that it has brought the Church of England from a state externally of halcyon calm, but inwardly of deep stagnation, to one in which, while buffeted more or less by external storms, subjected to some peculiar and searching forms of trial, and even now by no means exempt from internal dissensions, she sees her clergy transformed (for this is the word which may advisedly be used), her vital energies enlarged and still growing in every direction, and a store of bright hopes accumulated that she may be able to contribute her share, and even possibly no mean share, towards the consummation of the work of the Gospel in the world. Now the contemplation of these changes by no means uniformly ministers to our pride. They involve large admissions of collective fault. This is not the place, and I am not the proper organ, for exposition in detail. But I may mention the widespread depression of evangelical doctrine, the insufficient exhibition of the person and work of the Redeemer, the coldness and deadness as well as the infrequency of public worship, the relegation of the Holy Eucharist to impoverished ideas and to the place of one (though doubtless a solemn one) among its occasional incidents ; the gradual effacement of Church observances from personal and daily life. In all these respects there has been a profound alteration, which is still progressive, and which, apart from occasional extravagance or indiscretion, has indicated a real advance in the discipline of souls, and in the work of God on behalf of man. A single-minded allegiance to truth sometimes exacts admissions which may be turned to account for the purpose of inflicting polemical disadvantage. Such an admission I must now record. It is not to be denied that a very large part of the improvements has lain in a direction which has diminished the breadth of separation between ourselves and the authorised teaching of the unreformed Church, both in East and West, so that, while on the one hand they were improvements in religious doctrine and life, on the other hand they were testimonials recorded against ourselves and in favour of bodies outside our own precinct; that is to say, they were valuable contributions to the cause of Christian Reunion."

Here was Mr. Gladstone echoing the words of Cardinal Vaughan, and both proclaimed in the face of the English people that the Established Church had been transformed within the last seventy years. And should the Pope be the man to check this great movement leading a whole people back towards Rome? Then Mr. Gladstone went on to hail Pope Leo as a great peacemaker and to express his own belief in the competency and fairness of the investigating tribunal. The aged Pontiff had shown his yearning for peace "first in entertaining the question of this inquiry, and secondly in determining and providing, by the infusion both of capacity and of impartiality into the investigating tribunal, that no instrument should be overlooked, no guarantee omitted for the probable attainment of the truth." Finally, Mr. Gladstone conjured up a splendid vision of what might be if no untoward decision came to dash the hopes of reconciliation. Alluding to the "laying on of hands" and the consecration of the priesthood, he said: "It is surely better for the Roman, and also the Oriental Church, to find the Churches of the Anglican succession standing side by side with them in the assertion of what they deem an important Christian principle, than to be obliged to regard them as mere pretenders in this behalf, and *pro tanto* to reduce 'the cloud of witnesses' willing and desirous to testify on behalf of the principle. These considerations of advantage must, of course, be subordinated to historic truth, but for the moment advantage is the point with which I deal."

That point of "advantage" was the sole theme of the letter. It offered in effect a magnificent bribe, and it was a bribe that presented itself to Pope Leo in the guise that of all others was fairest to him. And the bribe may well

have seemed greater and nearer than it was. It was difficult for Italians, so long accustomed to regard Mr. Gladstone as the representative Englishman, to understand that on this occasion he was the spokesman not of the nation, but only of one section in the Established Church. But in fact the whole dream was based on a misunderstanding, and a misunderstanding that under all the circumstances was most natural and even inevitable. For those who had taken the initiative in seeking a further investigation into the question of Anglican Orders had not sought that for its own sake. Lord Halifax has told us that what was wanted primarily was some point of contact, some subject which might give an opportunity for an exchange of explanations, and for the promotion of a better understanding. From that point of view an adverse decision would not be merely a calamity but also an absurdity. For the purpose which Lord Halifax and his friends had in view the question of Anglican Orders was most unfortunately chosen. There are questions upon which it is at least conceivable that the Church might make concessions, such, for instance, as the celibacy of the clergy or the practice of Communion under one kind. When the Church is asked to modify her own laws it is legitimate to point to the advantages which might be expected to follow. But the validity of Anglican Orders is largely a simple question of fact. Nor, once raised, could the question be easily left without an authoritative answer. For it was a serious question affecting the ordinary life and practice of the Catholic Church in this country. Every year there are convert clergymen who wish to become priests. In such cases it imperatively concerns the Church to know whether the convert is truly

a priest or only a layman. If he is a validly ordained priest he cannot, without sacrilege, be reordained. If he is a layman, he cannot, without worse than sacrilege, be sent to minister at the altar. Here, then, was a question of everyday practice, a question of domestic concern, which once raised had to be determined one way or another.

If further proof were wanted of the unfortunate misconception which at that time coloured the hopes of the leaders of the Reunion party, it may be found in the publication of the pamphlet *De Re Anglicana.* The Commission in Rome had finished its work—the last sitting had been held on May 7th, the reports of the case had been sent to the Holy Office, Father David Fleming had already left for England, and Mgr. Moyes and Abbot Gasquet, who had lingered on owing to some work which could be done only in the Vatican library, were preparing to follow, when a new move on the part of their opponents was sprung upon them. In the first days of June they were surprised to receive, through Cardinal Mazella, copies of a Latin pamphlet, *De Re Anglicana*, which had been written by Mr. Lacey and was being circulated among the Cardinals, and purported to give a true account of the past history and present condition of Anglicanism. The work was, of course, too late to affect the labours of the Commission, but it was hoped that it might still influence the higher tribunal which now had the arrayed evidence before it. The object of those who circulated this statement is apparent on the face of it. It was designed to persuade the Roman authorities that the Golden Apple of Reunion was within their reach, if only they were not imprudent. It insisted that the Church of England had

never ceased to be Catholic and was never so Catholic in its tendencies as at that moment. As showing how near she was to coming to Rome, the writer made this remarkable statement: "The multitude of nuns vowed to poverty chastity, and obedience, who devote their lives to the various works of charity, is so great that there are now more vowed to religion than there were at the time of the Reformation in England." [1]

Of course, it had to be admitted that sad things had happened to the Church of England since the schism, but the Catholic leaven had been there all the time and now it was moving the whole mass. The pamphleteer boldly explained that the Puritan party had been "conquered" though it had not disappeared. And it would be a mistake to suppose that the Anglican Church was any longer the slave of the State.

"Against the Civil Power we have won rather a real than a splendid victory, so that the liberty we enjoy is greater than it appears. In the year 1856 it was obtained that the provincial Synods, which had been silenced for more than a hundred years, should resume their sittings. The definitions concerning faith and doctrine, which the Royal Council had dared to put forth, and which at first indeed disturbed the minds of some, are now contemptuously treated with neglect. But when the Civil Power attempted to intervene in matters concerning worship it was openly resisted with all available strength. It was a question of observing the rubric in a Catholic sense. The Puritan party, fearing this specially, and seeing their cause daily declining, had recourse to the law courts, and when the ecclesiastical courts defended the Catholic sense,

[1] "Monalium inclusarum nonnulli conventus erecti sunt; religiosarum votis paupertatis, castitatis et obedientiae adstrictarum, quae in variis caritatis operibus vitam degunt, tanta est multitudo ut jam plures religioni devotae sint quam quae tempore reformationis in Anglia extarent."

they appealed to the Royal Council. By the judgment of this [tribunal] the Catholic sense was condemned: but when the greater part of the clergy refused to obey this the civil rulers, by a new law made in Parliament (in the year 1874) attacked those whom they called Ritualists. Thence arose a great commotion. Several priests were cast out of their churches, and five, named Tooth, Dale, Enraght, Green, and Bell Cox, were confined to prison until they would make their submission; all of these were either by error of the courts or lapse of time set at liberty without making submission, and the Church finally settled down to peace from these tumults. Now it seems almost incredible that such things should have taken place. Concerning the same matters, a trial was instituted against the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, ignoring the judgments of the civil tribunals, decided the matter by his own authority in a Catholic sense." [1]

In conclusion the pamphleteer makes use of these significant words: "We have entered into the question of Anglican Orders, not indeed that we suppose that the whole root is contained in it, but that we trust that thereby a way may be opened up for the conciliation of minds." The whole argument of the pamphlet came to this—the Church of England is ripe for Reunion; we have broached the question of the validity of her Orders as a step towards the "conciliation" of men's minds, and so as to make easy the final step; an adverse decision now would put an end to the prospects of Reunion and prevent the recapture of the British Empire by the Church of Rome.

Abbot Gasquet and Mgr. Moyes felt that the picture of the Church of England presented in *De Re Anglicana*

[1] "Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis edictis civilium tribunalium neglectis, rem propria sua auctoritate, in sensu Catholico determinavit."

was so misleading that, after communicating with Cardinal Vaughan, they decided to prolong their stay in Rome and to issue a reply. Within eight days this reply, known as the *Risposta*, was written, printed, and circulated among the Cardinals. It pointed out briefly that though certain Catholic doctrines were devoutly held by a fraction of the Church of England, known as Ritualists, they were in no sense representative of that body as a whole. As to the statement that the majority of the Anglican Bishops were Catholic in their opinions, the *Risposta* said: "Amongst forty Bishops only three show some favour for Ritualistic doctrines, namely, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Salisbury. But even these three deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation. They admit the Sacrifice of the Mass in the sense of a commemorative Sacrifice. They teach the Real Presence in the Eucharist in a Lutheran sense, holding that the matter of bread and wine remains, and maintaining with heretical terms a spiritual presence which cannot well be defined." And even the Ritualist minority, though they talk of Reunion, never contemplate the only Reunion that the Pope could consider. They are not prepared to accept the supremacy of the Pope *de jure divino* or the decrees of the Vatican Council. The *Risposta* continues: "It is plain to every one that the same conclusion must be drawn from the celebrated letter of Mr. Gladstone to the Archbishop of York. In it, although expressed in a multitude of words, the author has always before his mind the Anglican Church as independent, and, as an equal and integral part of the Church of Christ, on a par with the Greek and Roman Churches. He invites the Roman Pontiff to join this

triple alliance, in order that these three Churches may defend against the unbeliever the dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Apostolic Succession. He wishes to persuade the Pontiff to recognise a certain equality between these Churches; and to accomplish this dream he employs the language of deferential adulation to obtain the recognition of Anglican Orders. The illustrious Liberal leader, who sought to destroy the work of the Vatican Council under Pius IX, would seek to-day, under Leo XIII, to render it meaningless."

Having placed a copy of this *Risposta* in the hands of the Holy Father, and after having been received in final audience on June 18th, Abbot Gasquet and Mgr. Moyes returned to England.

The next three months was a time of uncertainty and doubt, and the wildest rumours were afloat as to what the ultimate decision of the Holy See was likely to be. Lord Halifax's friends, obsessed by the idea that the inquiry had been undertaken as a measure of conciliation to smooth the way to Reunion, were confident that the result would be in accordance with their wishes. On the other hand Cardinal Vaughan was satisfied that any careful consideration of the circumstances attending the creation of the Edwardine Ordinal must necessarily be fatal to Anglican Orders. Meanwhile, the conviction that the whole movement for Corporate Reunion, while futile in itself, was also doing great harm, by preventing individual conversions, received curious confirmation from an incident which occurred about this time. On the 14th of July, 1896, a meeting of the Society for Promoting the Reunion of Christendom was convened for the purpose of listening to an address from the Abbé Portal.

The Abbé could unfortunately speak only in French, but at the close of the address Lord Halifax repeated the substance of it in English. Other speakers on the occasion, besides Lord Halifax, were the Rev. Mr. Puller the Rev. Mr. Lacey, Mr. Athelstan Riley, and the late Dr. F. G. Lee. The meeting was strictly private, so that all might speak with perfect freedom. One of those present, however, took down a very full report of all the speeches, and afterwards sent it to Cardinal Vaughan. This report differs considerably from the one which afterwards appeared in the *Guardian*, but whichever version of the Abbé's remarks we adopt, they appear to have been sufficiently remarkable. Referring to the subject of individual conversions, he contrasted that method of bringing England back to Catholicism with the movement in favour of Corporate Reunion and declared a strong preference for the latter:—

"And this is not only because it is the only method likely to lead to any large practical results, but also because it is most in harmony with our principles. Our fundamental principle is the principle of authority; moreover, this method of Corporate Reunion is more in conformity with the principle of authority, because it saves the individual from the torture of doubt and other risks incurred by a personal investigation of the faith. You say to a soul which by its past, by its education, by the graces it has received, is bound by all the chords of its being to this or that Church—you say to such soul, 'You are in error, and outside the true Fold.' Who does not feel the suffering and doubt which is thus produced? It is not, however, the suffering on which I wish to dwell. Who does not see the danger of such a shaking of the whole roots of the spiritual life? We hear much of conversions; but we are not told so much of those converts who have gone back to their original faith, or have lost their faith alto-

gether. One might name instances of men who were first Anglicans, then Catholics, and have finally ended in the most absolute scepticism. Such cases are the consequences of the method of procedure which may be necessary, but which is often dangerous in itself. And this is the only method which in the opinion of some people is to be adopted for the Restoration of Unity. All souls are to be subjected to this torment of doubt and deadly disquietude. They have to ask themselves whether the graces they have received are real graces, or the illusions of the devil—whether the Holy Ghost has been acting on the soul or whether the soul has merely been the plaything of its own imagination. And if it must be owned that these distresses have been a necessary lot of Anglicans in the nineteenth century, at least, if it be possible, let the Anglicans of the future be spared such torments."

Cardinal Vaughan read these words with indignation and regret. He saw in them the confirmation of his worst fears as to the secret tendencies of the movement, and a revelation of the secret hopes of its promoters. Here was a Catholic priest who had been so led astray by his association with this group of Anglicans that he was actually deprecating, and on principle, any further attempts to bring individuals into the Church. The audacity of the position was its most obvious note, but for the Cardinal every other consideration was lost in the knowledge that it was also plainly heretical. To make conversions of individual souls to the unity of the faith is part of the very life and function of the Catholic Church. The most sacred work of the Church is to press the claims of her message upon the conscience of every individual she can reach and get to listen to her teaching. It is equally the duty of the listener, at the peril of his soul, to follow the call of conscience and of Truth whatever

may be the difficulties through which he may have to pass to the possession of it. When "the Master calleth" there is no alternative but to "arise and go quickly." Any opinion, therefore, which goes to deny the duty of doing that work, of seeking conversions, or disparages the need of its being done, or implies that such work is not desirable, or that it makes for evil rather than good, is simply heretical, and he that holds it, or utters it, offends against Catholic faith. All that was at once set out, and with the utmost possible plainness, by the Cardinal's earnest wish, in the columns of the *Tablet*. And even if it could be contended that the Abbé Portal's disparagement of individual conversions was only relative, and the result of his preference for wholesale methods, the case would not be greatly improved. Not even the wildest of the dreamers can have supposed that Corporate Reunion was going to be accomplished at once, or even within the lifetime of the present generation. So that, taking the most favourable view of the Abbé's words, they were a cruel disservice to any among his audience who were honestly and anxiously seeking for the unity of the Faith. He had condemned the only means whereby that which, from the Catholic point of view, and therefore his own, was a supreme good, could be accomplished. Nor did the Cardinal regard the Abbé's address as less mischievous because it was very illogical. The process of individual conversion was objected to because it involved renouncement of old beliefs, and so "a shaking of the whole roots of the spiritual life." But what would happen in the case of Corporate Reunion? The Church which had been in schism, and every individual composing it, would have to disavow its past, and renounce sundry of

its beliefs, just as completely as if the reunion and submission were taking place by units instead of collectively.

There was only one way out of this dilemma, and that was not open to the Abbé. If he had contended that the Anglican Church is not a sect but an integral part of the Catholic Church, his reckoning with Rome could not have been long delayed. Such a plea is, of course, plainly untenable by a Catholic The confused thinking which underlies the Abbé's main argument cannot be better laid bare than it was at the time in the Cardinal's organ :—

"Let us suppose that the dream of the Reunionists has come true. It is the Sunday after the general reconciliation of the Anglican Church with the Church of Rome by the method of Corporate Reunion. Let us place ourselves in the position of one of the Anglicans thus reconciled, and endeavour to enter into his feelings. What does he believe? He now conscientiously believes that Christ gave to St. Peter and to his successors, the Roman Pontiffs, jurisdiction over the whole Church. Unless he accepted that truth reconciliation for him and his fellow-Anglicans would have been impossible. But this being so, what is he to think of the Reformation? By the very logic of the belief just mentioned he must regard it as a detestable revolt against the word and the work of Christ ; and by every sentiment of loyalty to Christ he must abhor in the future what he called 'blessed' in the past. What is he to think of the Established Church as founded on the basis of this revolt? He could not, without treason to Christ, think or speak of such a system, as a system, with affection or approval. His love for the friends he had known there, his gratitude to God for the whole chain of graces which, in his spiritual past, had been given to his soul, would indeed remain unchanged, if not enhanced. But his religious past, in so far as it is associated with a heretical and schismatical body, would stand condemned in his conscience as a thing to be abjured and repented

of in whatever degree he wilfully and wittingly took part in it.

"If this be so, what becomes of the plea that Corporate Reunion would spare the convert the breaking with the past and the sundering of the ties that bound him to the religious system to which he previously belonged? Will the sundering of the ties, or the shock 'to the roots of his spiritual life,' be less because he knows that the sundering and the shock affect not only himself but his whole communion?"

It may be thought that Cardinal Vaughan's sense of proportion failed him when he attached importance to the irresponsible utterances of a foreign ecclesiastic so obviously ill-informed as to the religious difficulties of this country. He attached importance to the address of the Abbé Portal because he saw in it the reflection of the wishes and views of the whole Reunion party. If a Catholic priest could be found to see in the Corporate Reunion movement an argument for stopping and condemning individual conversions, how natural it was for sincere Anglicans to take the same line! In other words, he took the Abbé's address as additional evidence that the talk about Reunion was being designedly used to prevent individual secessions, and to silence the scruples of persons who were beginning to feel that their position as members of the Established Church was untenable. The whole position made a very unpleasant impression upon the Cardinal, and this should be borne in mind when we are considering what the Archbishop of Canterbury, a few months later, described as "Vaughan's insolent *scholia*."

The Cardinals of the Holy Office, after a month's consideration of the evidence placed before them by the

Pontifical Commission, assembled on Feria 5, the 16th day of July, 1896, to deliver their judgment. It may be explained that ordinary meetings of the Supreme Council for the ratification of Decrees usually take place on Wednesdays and are marked Feria 4. The rare and solemn sessions which are held for exceptionally important business, and in the presence and under the presidency of the Pope himself, are held on Thursdays, and are marked Feria 5. No such Court had assembled in the Vatican for more than a hundred years. The importance of the session was marked by the unusually large attendance of Cardinals. Even the aged Cardinal Martel was carried into the Council-room in his armchair. The decision was unanimous, and declared that Anglican Orders are absolutely invalid. From the Council of the Cardinals the case passed to the Sovereign Pontiff. After a further interval of some weeks, the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* was published on the 13th day of September, 1896. It confirmed the decision of the Holy Office, and condemned the Orders of the Church of England as certainly null and void. After referring to the decisions of Julius III, Paul IV, and Clement XI, as conclusive as to the mind of the Church in the past, the Bull went on to consider anew in detail the question of the Anglican Ordinal. It was declared fatally defective both as to form and intention. In other words, the Pope decided that the English Reformers had succeeded in doing what they certainly intended to do—in compiling a form of Ordination from which the idea of sacrifice, of consecration, and the *Sacerdotium* should be wholly excluded. As Mgr. Moyes at the time, summing up the case, said: "The Holy See could not ignore the Fact of Exclusion—the fact that the authors

of the Ordinal systematically eliminated all parts of the Catholic rite which contained the signification of the Sacrificial Office. It sufficed to take the Ordinal in one hand and the Sarum Pontifical in the other, or the Communion Service in one hand and the Missal in the other, and put the two side by side, and the fact of exclusion stood glaringly revealed, not once or twice, but in no less than some forty-nine parts throughout the whole ritual structure. The Holy See, with the best will in the world, could not accept that fact as unintentional. The mere juxtaposition and comparison of the two liturgies would by itself have sufficed to refute such a theory. But, if need be, there was the testimony of Cranmer, of Ridley, and of those who were themselves the chief authors of the Ordinal and Prayer Book in 1552, and of those who adopted and revised it in 1559. And further, if need be, there was the testimony of the whole religious literature of the Anglican divines for a hundred years after the accession of Elizabeth. And, if need be, there was the testimony of the traditional Protestantism of England to-day, to bear witness to what their fathers thought and did with the Mass and the altars at the time of the Reformation."

And it is to be noted that as the Orders of the Church of England were condemned—that is, declared to be not Catholic Orders—solely on the ground of the insufficiency of the Ordinal, nothing at all was decided about the doubtful consecration of Barlow.

In Mr. Gladstone's letter to the Archbishop of York it was suggested that, as something towards conciliation, the Holy See should put on record any finding favourable to the Anglican claims under any one of these three

heads : (1) The external competency of the consecrators. (2) The external sufficiency of the commission they have conferred. (3) The sufficiency of intention. "Even the dismissal from the controversy of any one of these three heads would be in the nature of an advance towards concord, and would be so far a reward for the labours of His Holiness, Leo XIII, in furtherance of truth and peace." Such a suggestion was natural enough from the standpoint of those who valued the investigation chiefly as an opportunity for friendly intercourse and mutual explanations. But that was not the Pope's point of view. He had before him a supremely practical question. He was not writing a treatise on Anglican Orders, but giving judgment as to their validity, and his decision, therefore, did not trouble itself with doubtful grounds, but confined itself to the certain grounds of invalidity, namely, the defect of form and intention. In this respect the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* does but follow the precedents set in 1685 and 1704. The archives in each case show that Anglican Orders were then condemned for precisely the reasons which form the basis of the decision contained in the Bull of Leo XIII, so that if any Catholic wishes hereafter to write a treatise on the whole subject he will still have to note and reckon with the doubts connected with Barlow's consecration just as if the recent Bull had never been issued. In other words, the objections to Barlow's episcopal character remain after the Bull precisely what they were before.

A week after the publication of the Bull the annual Catholic Conference was due to take place at Hanley. A large part of Cardinal Vaughan's inaugural address on the occasion was naturally devoted to the question

of the hour. He was still under the impression left by the extraordinary utterance of the Abbé Portal and his allies at the private meeting of the Society for Promoting the Reunion of Christendom on the 14th of July, 1896. He now regarded the Corporate Reunion movement as an evil thing, and one that was being used to delay or hinder conversions. And what he saw clearly he was resolved to say clearly. Dealing first with the question of Orders, he said:—

"The Holy See, having taken everything into consideration, acted in the only way that was possible, namely, upon the evidence and the merits of the case. It has never had difficulty in recognising as valid the Orders of the Greek and other Eastern Schismatics, because the evidence of their validity is sufficient. And now it has not condemned Anglican Orders because they were Anglican, or given in heresy or schism. It has condemned them simply because the evidence has conclusively proved them to be null and void. Some of our Anglican friends have declared that this denial to them of Apostolical Succession and Orders closes the door against the Reunion of Christendom so far as they are concerned. But if they be true to their former professions this can only be said under the effect of pardonable irritation and disappointment. The validity of Anglican Orders could never form even a single plank in the platform for either Corporate or Individual Reunion.

"Reunion means submission to a Divine Teacher. When men have found the Divine Teacher and determined, at whatever cost, to submit to Him, there will be Reunion. And Reunion with the Catholic Church can

never take place on any other terms. This was well known. The question of Anglican Orders, therefore, was never in it. Others had already confided to the public months before judgment was delivered that they intended not to care for the Papal decision, if adverse: that they had quite made up their minds to rest satisfied with such Orders as they have. To this I reply, Be it so. They are responsible to their Judge, not to us, for their words and acts. As usual, in their misfortune they reproach the Apostolic See. But with their mouth full of reproaches, they must face this fact: that neither Jansenist, Russian, Greek, nor any of the Eastern sects who possess valid Orders have ever been able or willing to recognise the validity of Anglican Orders. These stand alone, shivering in their insular isolation—and worse; for they are disowned within their own Communion as well as by the immense majority of the English people. '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*'

"But there are grave and earnest men and women, not standing in the front line, who are more independent and weigh matters for themselves. They realise all that is at stake. How can they any longer trust in a sacramental system which is condemned as null and void by the Catholic Church? How shocking to adore as very God elements that are but bread and wine, and to bend down after auricular confession in order to receive a mere human and useless absolution!"

No one after that could say the Cardinal had hidden the truth in a cloud of words, or given excuse for the illusion that there is any road to Reunion except by the way of submission. He dismissed the question for ever in these words :—

"Tarry not for Corporate Reunion. It is a dream, and a snare of the Evil One. We have all to be converted to God individually; to learn of Christ, to be meek and humble of heart individually; to take up our Cross and follow Him individually, each according to his personal grace. The individual may no more wait for Corporate Reunion than he may wait for Corporate Conversion. The obligations of Faith and submission to the Church are as peremptory and as binding upon the individual as are the obligations of Hope, Charity, and Contrition. And who that waits can promise himself a continuance of time or of grace? 'Work while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work.'"

Those who remember Cardinal Vaughan at that time know that he went to Hanley in a stern mood. Not the less, he had a very tender feeling in his heart for those of the High Church party for whom the decision of the Holy See meant pain and distress. No one who was sincere in his seeking for religious truth was ever wholly outside the pale of his sympathy. Something of this feeling struggles to find expression even in the passages in which the position of his opponents is described with the most uncompromising plainness:—

"But many will reply, and have replied, 'We cannot disbelieve in the efficacy of Anglican Orders, because we have experienced sensible proofs of the grace which they have wrought in our souls. We cannot disown the breasts that nurtured us. Is not the tree known by its fruits?' To this I answer, We have no difficulty in believing that you have received these visitations of grace, and that you have received them at the times when you frequented Sacraments that were absolutely null and void. That

you, being in perfect good faith and sincerity, should have received grace from God is no more proof of the validity of Anglican Orders than it is of the truth of the Anglican system. I am quite ready to believe that Anglicans and others outside the Church may receive many graces while in good faith and devout dispositions they frequent even fictitious Sacraments, administered by men who are equally in delusion as to the validity of their Orders."

The address ended characteristically with an appeal to the people for prayer and an invocation of the aid of the Mother of God.

In one respect, at least, the way in which the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* was received in this country was a pleasant surprise to the Cardinal. It caused far less offence and gave rise to far less misunderstanding than he had feared. He attributed this in some measure to two sanely tolerant articles which appeared in the *Times*, and explained the position taken by the Holy See with great clearness. It was with reference to these two articles that the Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, dated 1st of October, said: "But what do you now say about the *Times?* Surely there can be no doubt now that it has an undeniable Roman Catholic tone—the article on the Encyclical and the article which accompanied Vaughan's oration are absolutely Roman, only the fingers that write are covered roughly with the skin of the kid."

When once it was understood that the aggressive words "Condemnation of Anglican Orders" meant that Orders given in the Church of England are not Orders in the Catholic sense of Orders, conveying the power of the Catholic priesthood, and that it was only in this sense

that they had been pronounced invalid, any feeling of soreness, as far as the general public was concerned, quickly disappeared. There seemed even a general disposition to agree with the Pope. The ordinary layman, who had never dreamed of crediting his clergyman with anything in the nature of miraculous powers, was not concerned when he understood that it was only these which were denied him. In fact, it was soon apparent that, if the Holy See had proclaimed that the Anglican clergy were indeed "sacrificing Mass priests," with power to forgive sins, and even to change bread and wine into the Body and Blood of the Living God, the national dissent would have found unmistakable utterance. The Cardinal waited for any expression of opinion on the part of the individual Bishops of the Establishment or groups of them. He was confident that no collective reply from the Anglican Hierarchy would ever be attempted.[1]

[1] The Bull *Apostolicae Curae* elicited a reply, not from the collective body of the Anglican Bishops, but from the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York. It endeavoured to meet the indictment of Leo XIII that the Anglican Ordinal did not signify a *Sacerdotium*, or sacrificing priesthood, by maintaining that in the Anglican rite there was a sacrifice of "thanksgiving," an offering of gifts, and of the souls of the worshippers, &c., all of which clearly fell short of what the Catholic Church means by the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In response to this the Catholic Bishops at once issued a rejoinder—*A Vindication of the Bull Apostolicae Curae*—in which they brought the whole issue to a crucial point by inviting the Anglican Archbishops to say publicly and plainly and frankly, in view of this argument, whether they did or did not mean that in the Anglican Eucharist there was a true Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ really and objectively present on the altar.

CHAPTER VII

THE TERM "ROMAN CATHOLIC" AND THE ROYAL DECLARATION

CARDINAL VAUGHAN took the opportunity of the Annual Conference in Newcastle to say a word as to the use of the term "Roman Catholic." In themselves the words are dear to every Catholic. They stand for the affirmation that the Catholic Church is the Church which is in visible union with the Roman See of Peter. They are familiar to us through their use in connection with the army and the navy, the prison administration, and the public elementary and industrial schools. But recent developments of ecclesiastical controversy have done something to make them equivocal. Cardinal Vaughan knew that they were being used in two senses. While Catholics used them to signify the members of the one Church of Christ which has Rome for its centre, Protestant controversialists were using them to convey the suggestion that there are other Catholics—Catholics who are not in communion with the Holy See. According to their theory, there are various sorts of Catholics, differing in doctrine—Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Anglo-Catholics.

In view of this double meaning which had come to attach to the term "Roman Catholic," Cardinal Vaughan

felt it was very undesirable that it should be used except in circumstances which made ambiguity or misunderstanding impossible. When, therefore, in 1897, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, it was proposed to present an Address of Congratulation from the Catholic Hierarchy on behalf of the Catholics in England, Cardinal Vaughan, in submitting a draft Address for the approval of the Home Secretary, Sir Matthew White Ridley, avoided the words "Roman Catholic," and instead used the form "The Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster." The Home Secretary at once took exception, and on two grounds. He contended that the proper form was "The Roman Catholic Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops in England and Wales;" and, secondly, that in any case the Home Office could not recognise "territorial titles which have no validity, though the penalties for assuming them have been repealed." A subsequent letter stated that the correct style was "The Roman Catholic Archbishop and Bishops in England." The Cardinal tried to meet the difficulty by dropping all territorial allusions, and suggested the phrase "Bishops of the Catholic Church in England." This also was objected to, and in the end the Address was not presented at all. There was the less difficulty in withdrawing it because it appeared that Catholics were not in the privileged list, so that their representatives would not in any case have been received by Her Majesty in person.

At the beginning of the new reign Cardinal Vaughan received an intimation—or perhaps in fairness to others I should say, what he regarded as an intimation—that if the Catholic body wished to present an Address to the King, no difficulty would be raised as to their way of

describing themselves. The Cardinal's view of what took place appears with sufficient clearness in the following extract from a letter to the Home Secretary, Mr. Ritchie: "Permit me to recall certain facts connected with the address to the Queen on the occasion of her Jubilee in 1897. Seeing that the Queen was receiving many deputations, I inquired whether it would be agreeable to Her Majesty to receive one also from her loyal Catholic subjects. The answer was, No, that we were not on the privileged list. Nevertheless, we ventured to draw up an Address to be presented on behalf of the Catholic Bishops in the ordinary way. We at first described ourselves in the usual style, 'The Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishops of the Province of Westminster.' This was sent back to me from the Home Office erasing the words 'Province and the title of 'Cardinal,' for which were to be substituted the words 'Roman Catholic Archbishop and Bishops in England.' I ventured to amend the Address thus: 'The Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishops of the Catholic Church in England,' and to express the hope that, all territorial allusions, Roman and otherwise, being thus omitted, the Address might be accepted. But instead of this, I was again requested by the Secretary of State to adhere strictly to the terms that he had dictated. The consequence was that we were unable to present our loyal address to the Queen. After this experience we were not likely to court further failure by suggesting another deputation. And when two or three weeks ago I was approached to know whether I should be willing to head a Catholic deputation to the King and present an Address, I at once raised the difficulty as to episcopal dress and our designation. Upon an assurance that the past objec-

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tions would not be raised, the Bishops met and heartily adopted the Address which you have now declined to allow." How the misunderstanding arose I do not know. It is certain, however, that Mr. Ritchie proved even more intractable than his predecessor had been. He objected even to the words, "We, the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Catholic and Roman Church in England." He urged that these words "would still imply our recognition that your Church was the *one* Catholic Church in England, whereas it is our contention that this is the correct designation of *our* Church. In all the statutes which exist dealing with the subject your Church is described as the Roman Catholic Church, and this is the description you yourself used in the Address of 1894 and the one I am afraid I must adhere to." This letter was dated from Sandringham, and written on the 28th of April, 1901. The Cardinal accepted it as final, and so had to decide either to accept the dictation of the Home Office or to refuse to present the Address. He was very unwilling at the beginning of a new reign to spoil the general harmony by a note of strife. The term "Roman Catholic" was not only quite unexceptionable in itself, but one every Catholic is necessarily proud of. The objection to its use was in the possibility of a misunderstanding on the part of others. He thought the danger might be guarded against. He wrote to Mr. Ritchie :—

"*April 30th*, 1901.

"DEAR MR. RITCHIE,—In reply to your note let me say that I have no objection to the term 'Roman Catholic,' provided it is understood.

"Catholics used it as early as the fifth or sixth century, and the African Bishops wrote that 'to be Roman is to be Catholic.' Our theologians understand by the 'Roman Catholic Church' the Catholic Church which has the Roman See for its centre, and by 'Roman Catholics' Catholics in communion with the See of Peter. This we hold to be the Catholic Church.

"But your note confirms my objection to the use of the term. By it you mean one thing, and we another. It therefore becomes an equivocal term, and if I deliberately use it as such I equivocate. If you tell me, as you do, that the expression 'Roman Catholic Church' does not mean the Catholic Church, I find myself unable to use that expression in the sense which it conveys to your mind. And if I should use it in my own and in the Catholic sense, and not in yours, I owe it to you and to myself to state frankly that we are using the term in two different senses. I should be otherwise chargeable with equivocation.

"There is, however, more than one way of avoiding the difficulty: namely, that we should style ourselves 'Bishops of the Province of Westminster,' or 'Bishops of the Catholic and Roman Church in England.' But if we again adopt the term used in English law, 'Roman Catholic,' it will be necessary that I should take some public occasion to state the meaning that we attach to the term, so that all may know it is used by us in a different sense to that in which it is used by you.

"I confess that I should regret our inability to present an Address to the King just now, all the more because I desire it should be seen that, without condoning in any way the language of blasphemy and offence dictated by

the State to the Sovereign, we know how to maintain loyalty in spite of insult and provocation.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Ritchie,

"Yours sincerely,

"HERBERT CARD. VAUGHAN."

Three days later, the Cardinal read an address in the presence of the King, of which the following is the concluding passage: "Our prayers are constantly offered up for your Majesty, especially after the principal Mass on each Sunday; and we venture to assure you that none of your subjects pray more fervently or more frequently that your reign may be long, beneficent, and adorned by every Christian virtue, that you may be ever victorious in war and prosperous in peace, that He who is the Way, the Truth and the Life may guide and bless our King and Queen and their Royal Family in this world and may open to them hereafter the gates of the Eternal Kingdom."

Nothing at any time of his life made Herbert Vaughan so restive as the feeling that he was in an equivocal position. He looked forward to the Newcastle Conference to make his position clear. Meanwhile, his correspondence shows that he was very anxious to make sure of his ground and to be neither too lax nor too rigid in his view. A well-known Roman canonist in whom the Cardinal had great confidence gave his opinion thus: "There can be no doubt that we can speak of the Catholic Church throughout the world as the Roman Catholic Church. This way of speaking since the sixteenth century has become quite common among our theologians, and is found consecrated in the Profession of Faith which

converts are bound to make when received into the Church —'I profess that I believe the Holy Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church to be the only and true Church established on earth by Jesus Christ.' Here the term 'Roman' plainly applies to the whole Church, and not merely to the local Church of Rome, 'the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.' In the *schema* of the dogmatic constitution of the Church, prepared by the Vatican Council, there is the following canon: '*Si quis dixerit veram Christi Ecclesiam, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, aliam esse praeter unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam, A. S.*' . . . But as there are some in England who give the term 'Roman Catholic' a false meaning, it should not be used by us without clearly stating the meaning we attach to it. The term 'Roman' added to the term 'Catholic' is not to be taken in '*un senso restrittivo*,' but in '*un senso dichiarativo*.' In the former, the expression 'Roman Catholic' would be both contradictory and heretical; in the latter, it simply means that that Church only is the true Catholic Church which is Roman, namely, which acknowledges and submits to the primacy or jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, Vicar of Jesus Christ, Successor of St. Peter. Thus, by calling ourselves 'Roman Catholics,' we proclaim that we belong to the one Church which Christ founded on Peter and on his successors, the Bishops of Rome. It seems to me that of the term 'Roman' added to the term 'Catholic' might be repeated to-day what of old was said of the term 'Catholic' added to that of 'Christian.' Our forefathers used to say, 'Christian is our name, Roman is our surname.' In both cases the use of the surname is justified and required by the use made of the name by those who were or are not of the true fold."

In his address at Newcastle in September, 1901, Cardinal Vaughan pointed out the two meanings which may attach to the term "Roman Catholic." He explained, in the simple, popular language adapted to the great audience he was addressing, how the term is sometimes used by Protestants to signify that the Catholic Church is divided into sections, which are doctrinally at variance—Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Anglo-Catholics. On the other hand, the term "Roman Catholic" is unobjectionable when it is understood that the first word is simply declaratory of the second—affirming that the Roman See of Peter is the centre of Catholic unity. "As Christ built His Church upon Peter and his successors in the Roman See, and as every other Church, according to St. Cyprian, must everywhere conform to the teaching of the Roman Church and be united in communion with it, so it follows that Rome is the centre of the Catholic religion." He concluded this part of his address with some words of practical advice and guidance:—

"I would now say to you all, Use the term 'Roman Catholic.' Claim it: defend it: be proud of it; but in the true and Catholic sense. As the African Fathers wrote some fourteen centuries ago, 'To be Roman is to be Catholic, and to be Catholic is to be Roman.' But I would also say, Like your English forefathers and your brethren on the Continent, call yourselves habitually—and especially when the word 'Roman' is misunderstood—simply Catholics, members of the Catholic Church. 'The name of the Catholic Church,' says St. Augustine, in the fourth century, 'keeps me in the Church—a name which, in the midst of so many heresies, this Church alone, not without cause, so held possession of that, though

all heretics would gladly call themselves Catholic, yet to the inquiry of any stranger, Where do the Catholics meet? no heretic would dare to point to his own place of worship.'

"I therefore say, Let others call themselves, let them call us, what they please. What they think and say is their affair. But let us assert equal liberty for ourselves —'Roman Catholic' or simply 'Catholic,' just as we please, for both mean the same thing.

"Always ask for the 'Catholic Church,' address your letters to the 'Catholic Presbytery,' speak of the 'Catholic Priest,' the 'Catholic Bishop.' Stand on the old way, hold to the old name: everybody understands it. Why use two words when one will do? In dedications, presentations, and addresses of a formal and ceremonious kind, call yourselves 'Catholics' or 'Roman Catholics,' whichever you please. But if you use the latter term, let it be seen that you use it in the Catholic and true sense, and that you have not chosen a word of double meaning for the purpose of equivocation.

"Indeed, it is important in this country that we should call ourselves 'Catholics,' rather than 'Roman Catholics, because a false meaning is more often attached to the latter term than to the former. Should any one object to your use of the name 'Catholic,' it is a sign that the time has come to assert your right to call yourself what you like. Of course, for legal purposes and to secure for ourselves a distinctive appellation which no one else will dare to appropriate, the term 'Roman Catholic' is perfect. It is theologically correct and absolutely exclusive."

Meanwhile, the Cardinal found that he had exposed himself to criticism from another quarter. When pre-

senting the Address he and the other Bishops, conforming to the ceremonial usage of the English Court, had genuflected before kissing the King's hand. The London Correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* commented as follows: "Very natural amazement has been expressed that his Eminence, Cardinal Vaughan, as a Prince of the Catholic Church, should have presented an Address on his knees yesterday to the King. In no other country in the world would a Cardinal make this act of obeisance to a Sovereign, not even in Spain, where the Sovereign is a Catholic. It is certainly the acme of humility that a Prince of the Church which the King has sworn to be idolatrous and superstitious should waive his sacred dignity to do homage to the Sovereign who holds his throne by virtue of that offensive declaration."

It is true that in kneeling before the Sovereign the Cardinal was acting contrary to the custom and etiquette which govern such matters abroad. Neither in Vienna nor in Madrid would such a form of homage be thought of. And this remark applies as much to Bishops as to Cardinals. The attention of Cardinal Vaughan was drawn to the point only at the last moment, when it was too late to seek the advice of the Holy See. He ascertained that any proposal to depart from the established usage of the Court of St. James would be very unfavourably received, and then, after thinking the matter over very carefully and finding no principle at stake, decided to do in London as London does. At the same time, for his justification, he drew up a memorandum of the reasons which led him to depart from what is the recognised custom in other countries. In the first place, the precedents from foreign Courts could hardly be considered conclusive. The Court

of St. James has its own traditions and ceremonial, and certainly no subject of the King could appeal from them to the usage of Courts abroad. Nor could it be said that in genuflecting and kissing the hand of the Sovereign the Cardinal had done anything in derogation of his rank of a Prince of the Church. This is the only form of civil homage which is known at the English Court, and is performed not only by the Princes of the Blood, but also by the Heir-Apparent to the Throne. Then, too, the Cardinal felt that for him to refuse to conform to the established usage of this country, and to support that refusal by an appeal to foreign custom, would have a deplorable effect upon public opinion. Certainly nothing would have been more likely to lend colour to the old calumny that Catholicism is essentially anti-national in its character. Finally, the Cardinal felt that some consideration was due to King Edward himself—a refusal, at the very last moment, to perform the ordinary act of civil homage would have been a poor return for the kindness and good feeling which had led his Majesty to set aside all precedent and to receive into his presence the whole Catholic Hierarchy in full ecclesiastical dress after three hundred years of proscription. To those who are familiar with the conditions of English public life the reasons here arrayed will probably seem amply sufficient. There is no doubt, however, that the Cardinal's conduct on this occasion exposed him to a good deal of unfavourable criticism in Catholic circles abroad.

It was one of Cardinal Vaughan's regrets at this time that at the very moment that he was doing all he could to meet the wishes of the Court, he should have to spoil the graciousness of his act by sending to the Home

Office a written statement that neither the Address to the King, nor the deputation, was to be taken as in any way condoning the language of the Royal Declaration—rather they were intended to show that the Catholics of England are loyal to the Throne in spite of insult and provocation. In the Cardinal's view that had to be said to prevent any possible misunderstanding. The whole subject of the Royal Declaration was one on which he felt deeply and strongly. It was a subject he often spoke of, and always in a way which made one feel that the words came straight from his heart. During the lifetime of Queen Victoria he made more than one attempt to get the Government to alter the law which requires the Sovereign at the outset of his reign to offer a deadly insult to twelve millions of his subjects. Neither he nor the Catholic peers whom he consulted realised that when the new reign had commenced protest would be too late. It was more than sixty years since the offensive words had been spoken. At that time it was generally felt that to insult Catholicism was an obvious way to strengthen the Constitution. Even then a dignified protest had come from the pen of Dr. Lingard. He says of the Royal Declaration: "It is not a mere profession of belief in the doctrine of one Church, and of disbelief in the doctrine of another: it goes much further; it condemns in the most solemn manner the worship and practice of the greatest body of Christians in the world, and assigns to them, without any redeeming qualification, the epithets 'superstitious and idolatrous.' . . . Of all the insults which can be offered to a man, in his character of Christian, the most offensive, by far, is to brand him with the infamous name of idolater."

At the beginning of the new reign the Catholic peers sent a letter to the Lord Chancellor, asking whether it was possible to find any means, within the Constitution, to bring about a modification in the terms of a declaration so offensive to Catholics all over the Empire. The Chancellor could answer only that it was too late. Only Parliament could alter or abolish the Declaration, and the law required that the Declaration should be made before Parliament could begin to legislate. By the words of the Statute (1 William and Mary, Sess. 2, c. iv.) the Declaration must be made by the Sovereign on the first day of the meeting of his first Parliament, sitting on his throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons, or else at the Coronation, whichever shall happen first. If the King had been crowned before the meeting of Parliament the Declaration would have had to be taken at the time of the Coronation, but, in any case, the Declaration is required by the Statute to be taken before the Session begins. The deadlock therefore was complete. The Cardinal, baffled at every point, then made a last despairing appeal to the King. He wrote a personal letter to His Majesty, imploring him to refuse to take the Declaration. It was asking him to forfeit the Throne.

When nothing availed, Cardinal Vaughan issued a Pastoral Letter to his flock, in which he said: "For us it is not so much a question of personal pain and of gratuitous insult received, as of deep and lasting grief for the outrage committed against Our Lord Jesus Christ, in that mystery of His love and compendium of all His merciful dealings with men, and against that Blessed and Immaculate Mother who, here as everywhere, shares in

the opprobrium and sorrows heaped upon her Son, as well as in His joys and in His glory. The evil that we deplore is no doubt the result of an anachronism, and of a barbaric law that has remained exceptionally, and we may believe accidentally, unrepealed, and has not been deliberately planned by modern legislators. At the same time, it must be remembered that the whole responsibility for an act and for its consequences must rest upon those who either demand or acquiesce in its repetition, and who, having the power, have not the will to repeal it." He concluded by ordering a general Communion of Reparation throughout the diocese.

And here it must be noted that the Cardinal deplored the Declaration, not only as a Catholic, but also as an Englishman and as a loyal subject of the King. He regarded the Declaration as blasphemous in itself and as wounding to the deepest and most sacred feelings of millions of Catholics, but he knew too, and better than most, the mischief it would do to the best interests of the Monarchy. He knew that all the softening and attenuating circumstances would go unheeded, and that the fact that the Declaration was only a fossilised formula, which, born of the panic caused by the perjuries of Titus Oates, had got embedded in the Constitution in the resentment of the moment, would be quite forgotten. He read in the newspapers with regret, but without surprise, how Mr. Healy had gone at once to Ireland and had addressed a great gathering of Irishmen as "Fellow Idolaters," and told them the King had made no declaration against the religions of Mohammed or Buddha. "Turk, Jew, and Atheist are left unscathed in these foul words, and the only creed outraged is the

creed that honours the Virgin Mother of God and the Divinity of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. I suggest that by way of encouraging an intelligent loyalty in Ireland we get the King's Declaration printed in large letters, and, if the King's Ministers refuse to repeal it, that we paste it on the front of every Catholic church in Ireland and on the wall of every National school, so that the humblest and least intelligent may see the words by which the King demands the allegiance of Catholics."

A little later, Cardinal Logue, speaking with an authority with which no one else in Ireland can speak, said: "This Declaration is charged with blasphemy and charged with insult from beginning to end; charged with blasphemy, because it blasphemes against the most sacred Mystery of our Holy Religion, and speaks against her who is the highest and holiest of God's creatures—the ever Blessed Mother of God Himself; and it is charged with insults branding the most virtuous amongst the subjects of His Majesty as idolatrous and votaries of superstition. Not only that, but there was an insult which perhaps was greater still—the supposition which was clearly expressed that the head of the Catholic Church, the Vicar of Christ, the guardian of morality, thought so lightly of the sanctity of an oath that he would privately, and for insidious objects, give to a Monarch ascending the Throne of England a dispensation to take that blasphemous oath." In the same address the Irish Cardinal advised his people to refuse to enlist in the King's Forces "as long as that insulting Declaration remains on the Statute-book of England."

Cardinal Vaughan knew, too, that these unhappy consequences would not be limited to the United Kingdom.

Nearly half the people of Canada are Catholics, and with what feelings would they hear that the King, as the first act of his reign, had described their religion as idolatry and denounced their dearest beliefs as superstitious? As the Cardinal foresaw, the feelings of the Dominion quickly found expression. The Commons at Ottawa, by 125 votes to 19, on March 1st, 1901, passed the following resolution: "That such Declaration is most offensive to all Roman Catholics; that the staunch loyalty of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Canada, comprising about 43 per cent. of the entire population of this Dominion, and throughout the British possessions, should exempt them from any offensive reference to them by their Sovereign; that in the opinion of the House the Declaration referred to in the Act of Settlement should be amended by eliminating therefrom all those expressions which are especially offensive to the religious belief of any subjects of the British Crown." The resolution was supported by the leaders of both the great Canadian parties. The Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, meeting a suggestion that in passing such a resolution the Parliament of Canada was acting *extra vires*, pointed out that a few years before the Home Government had welcomed a resolution from Ottawa condemning the treatment of the Outlanders in the Transvaal. Yet how slight was the interest of Canada in the fate of the Outlanders, which affected her only through a handful of her emigrants. The Royal Declaration touched the dearest interests of half her people.

The Catholic Hierarchy of Australia drew up a form of protest which was couched almost in the language of menace, and then called upon the Government of the

Commonwealth to transmit it to England. "Devotedly and joyfully our Catholic people throughout Australia have proclaimed their loyalty to the Throne and to its present august occupant; but they will not endure from any source words of insult hurled against the truths of the Divine Faith which they profess." Then, recalling that a third of the Australian troops fighting in South Africa were Catholics, the protest went on: "With them religion and freedom and loyalty go hand in hand. It cannot be prudent, or honourable, or wise to repay their heroism and patriotism by wanton insult, and to brand their most sacred convictions with a stigma of infamy from which the beliefs of other subjects of the Empire, even of Buddhists and Hindoos and Zulus, are exempt." The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, in promising to forward the document, added that his Government had already expressed a hope that the language complained of might be revised.

But though the Cardinal regretted, both as a Catholic and an Englishman, the unhappy consequences he saw must result from a retention of the Royal Declaration in its present form, he had no wish to lessen in any way the security of the Protestant Succession. On that point he took a very practical view. The great majority of the people were Protestants, and he thought they were entitled to take any steps they thought necessary to secure that their Kings should be Protestant also. Only surely that might be done without selecting specific Catholic doctrines for public reprobation. He had not the slightest objection to a form of Declaration which should require the Sovereign to maintain the Protestant religion or even to express his personal belief in the doctrines

of the Church as by law established. He thought it odd that people who are always denouncing religious tests should be so anxious to fit one for the King—but that was their affair. Certainly no one, in spite of his constant ill-health, could have worked more untiringly, or with more single-hearted devotion, than Cardinal Vaughan did all through the spring and summer of 1901 to bring about a settlement that should satisfy all parties. And if, in the end, the effort failed, and the Royal Declaration remains, what Lord Salisbury described it, "a stain on the Statute-book," this sorry result was certainly not due to any want of moderation or any unreasonableness on the part of Cardinal Vaughan.

The credit of the initiative in trying to secure a revision of the terms of the Royal Declaration belongs to Lord Braye. At the outset he met with small encouragement from the Government. Lord Salisbury said everybody "deplored" the language in which the Declaration was framed, but held out no hopes that it could be reconsidered. A few days later, however, he consented to the appointment of a Joint Commission of both Houses to see what could be done. The Cardinal's hopes then ran high. He could not conceive that it passed the wit of man to devise a formula which, while affirming the positive Protestantism of the King, should leave the religion of Catholics alone. The history of the Commission is the story of a comedy of errors. At the outset Lord Herries, who moved the appointment of the Joint Commission, said, in a spirit of conciliation, that he saw no reason why the Catholic peers should ask to be represented on it. "Their purpose was not to prevent the members of the Church of England from obtaining gene-

rally that the King should remain a member of the Church of England, but that the offensive words of the Declaration should be removed; and he trusted entirely to the impartiality and good-feeling of their Lordships to ensure that result." No words could have better expressed the hope and temper with which English Catholics approached the subject. Then difficulties began. Catholic members in the House of Commons begged to be excused from serving on the Commission. They were in the same position as the Catholic peers, and it seemed best to let the Protestant members settle a domestic question among themselves. But then it was found that the Liberal members also refused to serve. No explanation of this refusal was given to the public—it was probably felt that there was no popularity to be got out of what might easily be represented as an attempt to tamper with the Protestant Constitution of the kingdom. The idea of a Joint Committee of both Houses had to be abandoned. Instead, a Select Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to inquire whether the language of the Royal Declaration "can be modified advantageously, without diminishing its efficacy as a security for the maintenance of the Protestant Succession." In moving the appointment of the Select Committee Lord Salisbury said, "I cannot think, if we can possibly avoid it, we ought to allow an enactment so little creditable to our Statute-book to remain on it without some modification." The following were the members of the Committee: The Lord Chancellor, Lord Salisbury, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Tweedmouth, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Spencer, Lord Crewe, and Lord Dunraven. It might have been supposed that as not a single member of the Committee was a Catholic, and as its whole object was

to meet the wishes of Catholics, some pains would have been taken to ascertain what would satisfy them, or at least to find out what they believed. This was, however, thought unnecessary. No witnesses were examined, and the whole business was disposed of in the course of a single short sitting. It may be convenient to put side by side the original Declaration and the Amendment proposed by the Committee :—

OLD FORMULA.

I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that I do believe in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever ; and that the invocation or the adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasions, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation, already granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of such dispensation from any person or authority, whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man or absolved

NEW FORMULA.

I, A. B., by the Grace of God, King (or Queen) of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. And I do believe that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are contrary to the Protestant Religion. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof unreservedly.

of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same or declare that it was null or void from the beginning.

If the two forms of Declaration had been set side by side, with nothing to indicate the circumstances of their origin, the new form would undoubtedly have been welcomed as less gross and less offensive than the old. But it was impossible to judge them in that way. The old formula might claim a sort of tolerance as the product of panic, and as the frantic device of men terrified out of their senses by the perjuries of Titus Oates. The second formula could claim no such indulgence. Devised in a time of profound peace, it submitted itself to the calm judgment of the nation, and Catholics were forced to ask themselves why Parliament, exercising its deliberate judgment at the end of the nineteenth century, should go out of its way to single out doctrines professed by the majority of Christians for denunciation by the Sovereign from the steps of the throne. But the new formula was open to criticism of another sort. Take the following sentence: "And I do believe that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are contrary to the Protestant Religion." The sole object of the Committee in inventing this formula was to devise something which no Catholic could repeat. When Cardinal Vaughan read the sentence just cited he fairly laughed out and exclaimed, "Why, Pope Leo would be delighted to make that statement every morning before breakfast!" The Committee would have solemnly com-

mitted the King to the statement that Catholic doctrines are not Protestant doctrines. He might just as usefully have been asked to point out that black is not white. Again, from any point of view, it was undesirable that the Sovereign should be called upon to misrepresent the doctrines he was going to deny. The Committee evidently believed that Catholics "adore" the Virgin Mary and the Saints. When it was afterwards explained in the House of Lords that Catholics "adore" neither the Saints nor the Mother of God, Lord Salisbury readily undertook that the formula suggested by the Committee should be amended to meet the objection. Eventually the Committee's amended formula ran thus :—

"I, A. B., by the grace of God, King (or Queen) of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever ; and that the invocation of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are contrary to the Protestant Religion, in which I believe. And I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof unreservedly."

This was so far an improvement that it did not misrepresent the beliefs of Catholics, and required of the Sovereign a positive declaration that he believed in the "Protestant Religion." Still, it was open to the objection that it obliged the Sovereign to select the most sacred article of the Catholic creed for public denial. When the Bill giving effect to these changes got into the Committee

stage the Earl of Kilmorey moved an amendment, which, if it had been carried, would have at once satisfied the Catholics of the Empire and yet have effectually safeguarded the Protestant Succession. The operative words were: "I solemnly and sincerely declare, without evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, that I ever have been, and am, and ever will remain, a steadfast member of the Reformed Church of England, as established by law, and that as such I do and will continue to disbelieve in, and dissent from, and reject all such doctrines of religion as are at variance with those of the Protestant Faith which I profess, and swear to support and maintain." In that formula Cardinal Vaughan was quite willing to acquiesce as one which, without offence to others, was calculated to give the majority in the country the security they desire for the Protestantism of the Sovereign. Somewhat shorter and simpler, but similar in effect, was the amendment put forward by Viscount Llandaff in the name of the Catholic peers. In view of the curious misunderstandings which afterwards arose as to the position which had been taken up by the representatives of the Catholic body, it is important to note the exact terms of this amendment: "I, A. B., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify and declare, that I do unfeignedly believe in the doctrines of the Church as by law established in this realm, and I do reject all doctrines opposed to, or inconsistent with, the tenets of that Church." Here was a Declaration which obviously no Catholic could take, and which effectually secured the Protestant Succession—why, then, was it not accepted by the Govern-

ment? During the discussion Lord Salisbury had seen a ghost.

Behind the amendments of the Earl of Kilmorey and Viscount Llandaff he had seen the fateful question, "Might the Sovereign be a Methodist?" As it stands, the Royal Declaration commits the Sovereign to nothing except to a public denial of Catholicism. For instance, it is quite unnecessary for him to be a Christian. What Earl Grey said of the formula proposed by the Committee is equally applicable to the Declaration it was designed to supplant. "Any Buddhist, any Kaffir, any Mohammedan, any Atheist, even the Mahdi or the Empress of China, might make this Declaration without the slightest violence to their consciences or their beliefs. If the object of the Declaration was to secure that this Protestant Kingdom should be governed by a Protestant King, a form of declaration that might honestly be made by the Empress of China or the Mahdi did not strike one as being especially suitable for the purpose."

Clearly, therefore, the amendment which obliged the Sovereign to profess belief in the Church "as by law established in this realm" was introducing a new limitation—it was for the first time requiring the Sovereign to be a Christian, and not only a Christian, but a member of the Established Church. In other words, it was imposing a new disability upon the religion of the Nonconformists. One of the Bishops contended that at any rate the Coronation Oath showed the King must be a member of the Established Church. It was a proposition difficult to maintain. Cardinal Vaughan's organ said at the time: "At his coronation the King will promise to 'maintain the true Protestant Reformed

Religion established by law,' but he does not promise to believe in it. That the distinction is important becomes apparent when we remember that His Majesty had already sworn to maintain the Church of Scotland 'as established by the laws made there in prosecution of the Claim of Right.' If, therefore, to 'maintain' a religion is to be taken as an equivalent for belief in it, the King will find himself committed to believing contradictory propositions. As an Anglican he must believe that episcopacy is part of the divinely appointed plan of the Church, but if he also believes in the Established Church of Scotland he must hold that episcopacy is merely an abuse of which the country is well rid. Thus the Claim of Right which the King has sworn to maintain asserts that 'prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance . . . and ought to be abolished.' If we understand the word 'maintain' in its natural sense, not as implying belief in any doctrine but as implying a readiness to uphold whatever is established in either country, there is no difficulty in reconciling the English and the Scotch Declarations." The King thus simply swears to see the law kept in both countries.

At any rate, when the question had once been raised, Lord Salisbury was not likely to run any risks. He could not have it said that, for the first time in our history, it had been made impossible for the Sovereign to be a member of one of the Free Churches. When the Earl of Kilmorey's amendment had been withdrawn, Earl Grey proposed a new amendment, based on the words of the Coronation Oath, and so omitting all explicit reference to the personal beliefs of the King:

"I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion as established by law." This was opposed by the Government, and so at once defeated. A little later came the turn of Lord Llandaff's amendment, which all the Catholic peers were willing to support with its unequivocal words: "I do unfeignedly believe in the doctrines of the Church as by law established in this realm, and I do reject all doctrines opposed to or inconsistent with the tenets of that Church." At the instance of the Government this was negatived without the formality of a division. The Government was now in this position—they would not accept any form of Declaration which affirmed simply belief in the doctrines of the Church of England, lest inconvenient questions should be raised in connection with the Free Churches. And the only alternative seemed to be a negative Declaration, a repudiation of some distinctly Catholic doctrine. It was suggested that a Declaration of faith in the doctrines of "the Protestant Religion" might suffice. But the Bishop of Worcester had objected that the term was too vague. At least it would be effectual to exclude a Catholic, and after all that is the main thing; and, viewed from the positive side, the words "the Protestant Religion" are certainly not so vague as the present Declaration, which commits the Sovereign to nothing.

Under these circumstances Lord Salisbury, to whom the whole business appeared to be most distasteful, decided to abandon the Bill. Lord Llandaff had made it clear that Catholics preferred the gross, archaic form of the present Declaration to an amended form which

would select anew the most sacred articles of Catholic faith for public condemnation. Lord Salisbury said that if that were so, it was no use to go on with the Bill. He added that, "We now know that they [the Catholic party] do not wish these offensive words to be withdrawn unless, at the same time, there is withdrawn that Declaration for the security of the Protestant Succession which we never for a single moment indicated that we had any intention of dispensing with." In view of the fact that Lord Llandaff's amendment explicitly required the Sovereign to profess his belief in the doctrines of the Church of England, and to repudiate every doctrine inconsistent with hers, Lord Salisbury's statement must be dismissed as quite incorrect. The next day the *Times*, commenting on the withdrawal of the Bill, and accepting Lord Salisbury's gloss upon his opponents' words, said: "Lord Llandaff has completely confirmed the view held by many from the first, that it is no mere matter of language or of form which the Roman Catholics aim at changing. The difference between them and the people of this country is far deeper and more vital. The law of this country excludes Roman Catholics from the succession to the throne, and the Royal Declaration is the touchstone necessary to determine whether any given candidate is a Roman Catholic or not. The Roman Catholics want to abolish the legal and regular means of deciding whether the natural heir to the Throne is, or is not, disqualified, knowing that if they succeed in this they go far to render the law nugatory. Since they have not been able to get what they really want, they no longer profess to value what they pretended to want."

The following letter appeared in the *Times* of the 8th

of August, 1901, from the Duke of Norfolk. It may well be put on permanent record as an authoritative statement of the position taken up by the Catholic peers. Dealing with the double accusation that they had changed their ground during the discussion and had shown that what they really objected to was any sort of Declaration securing the Protestant Succession, the Duke replied :—

"In regard to the first point we have not departed from any early expression of our hopes. The Committee, for some reason, did not make the least attempt to ascertain what our hopes or wishes might be. It is not our fault if, in their self-imposed ignorance of our anticipations, they leaped to conclusions for which there was no justification. So far as I am aware, not one single effort was made by the Committee, either directly or indirectly, to ascertain what were the points in the Declaration to which we objected, or what were the alterations for which we prayed. When it is remembered that we fully endorsed the arrangement by which no Catholic peer was to be on the Committee, this course of action on the part of that body appears all the more inexplicable. I feel it incumbent on us to put on record that we have not departed from any of our earlier statements on this subject, and that not only have we not declined to accept any Declaration assuring the Protestant Succession, but that we ourselves submitted such a Declaration to the House."

Cardinal Vaughan had followed every stage of the discussion with the closest interest, and noted the muddling and mismanagement of the House of Lords' Committee with growing exasperation. The final breakdown of the attempt to modify the Declaration was a

source of the keenest distress to him. At the same time, he never doubted that Lord Llandaff, and the Catholic peers who had acted with him, had done what was best. When afterwards his own conduct was criticised by some of his friends, he pointed to the fate of another famous Protestant Declaration, the inscription on the Monument. That inscription owed its origin to the panic which also led to the placing of the Royal Declaration on the Statute-book. In 1681 the following legend was carved on a panel on the base of the Monument: "This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of that most dreadful burning of this Protestant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the Popish faction, in the beginning of September, 1666, in order to the carrying of their horrid plot for extirpating the Protestant religion and old English liberty and the introducing of Popery and slavery." After a time, no doubt, the saner portion of the nation began to recognise that this cruel calumny against the Catholics was something to be ashamed of, came to regard it, that is, as the ordinary Englishman of to-day regards the language of the Royal Declaration. Perhaps even at the time when Pope wrote "The Man of Ross" the more educated part of the community was ready to acquiesce in the substantial truth of the lines—

> "Where London's column, pointing at the skies,
> Like a tall bully lifts its head and lies."

But if it had been proposed early in the eighteenth century to erase the calumny, can we doubt that the suggestion would have been met with an offer to modify the more offensive phrases? We can imagine some

tolerant peer of the time solemnly explaining that his task was not to make a new inscription, but only to modify the old one, so that, for instance, in future the passer-by might be told that the City was burned, not "by the treachery and malice of the Popish faction," but by "the activity and energy of the Catholic party." Happily no such miserable modification was attempted. The old inscription stood, in all its grossness, until at last all men knew it for a lie, and Protestantism grew ashamed of it, and in 1831 utterly erased it. The Cardinal died in the belief that the same fate will some day overtake the Royal Declaration. He thought it too offensive to be endured, and believed that some day the country would grant liberty of conscience to the King, or else be content with some simple subscription to the Protestant creed.

CHAPTER VIII

RESCUE WORK IN LONDON

WHEN Herbert Vaughan came to Westminster straight from his struggle with the great proselytising societies in the North of England, he had the hope that he might be spared that sort of trouble in London. In one respect the field had been splendidly covered. In nothing was Cardinal Manning more completely successful than in his efforts to provide the diocese with a network of Certified Poor Law Schools. Writing in 1899, Cardinal Vaughan said: "Formerly thousands were lost to the Faith in London by the Workhouse system. Through the zeal and perseverance of my eminent predecessor and by the enlightened sense of justice that has inspired the Guardians of the Poor, this cause of leakage has been stopped. No less than fifty-eight different Unions and Parishes within and beyond the Metropolitan area now give up all Catholic children to be educated in our Catholic Certified Poor Law Schools. They pay maintenance, while we are pledged to supply suitable buildings, training, and accommodation, at a heavy yearly charge which tends to increase rather than diminish."

Unfortunately, Cardinal Manning was less successful in his attempts to cope with the leakage which is the direct result of destitution. If he had been in a position

to provide a place in a Catholic Home for every Catholic child, possibly the difficulty with Dr. Barnardo might not have arisen. As it was, conflict was inevitable. Dr. Barnardo's position is best stated in his own words :—

"Frequently when a child of Roman Catholic parents has been brought to me for admission, I have expostulated with the poor relative who has pleaded on its behalf, and urged that application ought to be made, in the first instance, to his or her own religious adviser, in the person of the priest. In nearly every such case the reply has been made, 'I have done so; he says he cannot help me; the priest has advised me to go to the workhouse myself or to send my boy or girl to the workhouse, and I won't do that.' In some instances such parents have told me that the priest has even been angry with them and ordered them off as beggars. The consequence has been that I have, although reluctantly, admitted a considerable number of children of Roman Catholic parents, or the offspring of mixed marriages, into the Homes. Let it be observed, however, that *I have never received one such* without first stating to the relative, plainly and clearly, in effect, '*This Home is a Protestant Home. Your child, if admitted, will be brought up in the Protestant Faith, and will not be allowed to attend a Roman Catholic chapel or to be visited by a Roman Catholic priest. It will be taught to love the Word of God and prayer, to trust Christ, and to serve and honour Him, but none of the distinctive tenets of the Roman Catholic Church will be taught.*' Again and again have poor Roman Catholics with whom I have remonstrated thus, said to me, 'Anything is better than the life we are now leading, and any place better than the place we are stopping in. Do take the child, for God's sake.'" [1]

No doubt such things happened. Poor men and women, with the light of hunger in their eyes, would go to Dr. Barnardo with their children and say, "For God's sake, take them!" That is one part of the story. But it often

[1] *Memoirs of Dr. Barnardo*, by Mrs. Barnardo and James Marchant.

happened that those poor Catholic parents afterwards found work, and were able to earn enough to keep their little homes together. Then came the miserable thought that they had given away their children, and that these were being brought up as Protestants and strangers. If they begged to have their children given back, they were shown the agreement they had signed. That agreement gave the Managers "of the said Protestant Homes" the right to detain the children until they became twenty-one years of age, to remove them without notice from Home to Home, or to board them out either in England or in the Colonies—also without notice. The parent was made to sign away his right to regain his children except with "the willing consent of the Managers," and even then he could get them back only when he had paid for their maintenance at the rate of six shillings a week for the whole time during which they had been in the Homes. Under these circumstances the unfortunate parents would go to their natural adviser, the priest. The priest, of course, would know that in English law such an agreement was absolutely void as against the inalienable right of the father to control the bringing-up of his children. But that knowledge helped very little. With Dr. Barnardo it was a settled principle never to surrender a child on the ground of religion. Uncertain whether his lost child was in Europe or in America, the ordinary working-class parent was absolutely powerless. Even when some Catholic took up his case and appealed to a Court of Justice, it was an unequal contest. Dr. Barnardo, with an income which his biographer tells us approached £200,000 a year, would face the most protracted litigation with equanimity, but for his opponents the cost even of

a successful suit was crippling and almost prohibitive. Even when the decision was in favour of the parent, it sometimes remained inoperative.

It may be thought that, dependent as he was on the public good will, Dr. Barnardo, for the sake of his work, would have dreaded anything like a public censure in a Court of Justice. He was a man ready to run great risks when he thought that he was in the right, and his attitude towards the Catholic Church at all times commanded the enthusiastic support of an influential section of his supporters. He has left it on record that some said, "Why should you give up any children, even for an hour, to the custody of a tyrannical, usurping, and heretical Church, whose doctrines are anti-scriptural and whose progress of late years in this kingdom is fraught with danger to our dearest liberties?" Again, he states that he knows many earnest Protestants "who would even consider it almost better that the children should remain in their forlorn and outcast condition than that they should become attached to the dangerous errors of Romanism." There is no doubt that at one time Dr. Barnardo honestly thought that Catholics could never be relied on to keep faith with Protestants. It is fair to say that in his dealings with Catholics he had some unpleasant and disappointing experiences. During Cardinal Manning's lifetime an arrangement was come to by which the doctor undertook to refer Catholic applicants in the first place to the Catholic authorities. Unfortunately more was undertaken in Cardinal Manning's name than at that time it was possible to carry out. Great efforts were made, but the Catholic Church has in proportion to her numbers such an overwhelming share of the poverty of London,

that the work could not be undertaken all at once: there was no machinery in the diocese equal to the tremendous task of dealing with every case of child destitution that might present itself. The managers of the Catholic Homes had to distinguish between the urgent and the less urgent cases. For the former, accommodation was found; but what of the less urgent cases? Were Catholic parents who could not get admittance for their children into Catholic Homes to be at liberty on that ground to hand them over to Dr. Barnardo, to the certain loss of their faith? Certainly not. And if the alternative was to send them to the workhouse, to the workhouse they must go. That may seem a hard saying, but there is no getting away from it; it was a fundamental Catholic doctrine, and it was the plain duty of any priest who was consulted to say so. Here was abundant occasion for friction with Dr. Barnardo.

Then, too, when the Catholic Homes were crowded to make room for younger and more helpless children, the older boys were sent out to start life for themselves. Some of them drifted to Dr. Barnardo. No priest who understood that it is a condition of the Barnardo Homes that all the inmates should be brought up as Protestants could help doing his utmost to prevent a Catholic boy from going there. And again there was an opportunity for friction, and, in Dr. Barnardo's opinion, an instance of bad faith. Dr. Barnardo's point of view comes out very clearly in the following letter written to Lord Kinnaird on the 29th of July, 1899:—

"I am as ready now as I have been at any time during the last fourteen years to send every Roman Catholic candidate for admission to these Homes to Cardinal

Vaughan or to any person he may appoint; but I will only do this on condition that I receive a pledge, to be honourably kept, to the effect that if the Roman Catholics are unable or unwilling from any cause to assist a destitute case whom I send to them, they will not use any moral or spiritual influence to deter the candidate from applying to me again; for in the past this has been done. A Roman Catholic mother with three children applied to me for assistance. I sent all to Father Seddon. Three months after the woman and her children applied for a night's lodging at one of our all-night refuges, and then she told the matron that she had applied to me for the admission of the children, that I had referred her to Father Seddon, and that on some ground or other the latter had refused to admit the children; but before she left he solemnly warned her, under a threat of excommunication, that she should not apply to me again, or, under any circumstances, allow her children to be admitted to my Homes. I firmly believe that this sort of thing has been going on for years. Is it to be wondered at that I can be no party to any arrangement with the Roman Catholics while they deliberately and as a matter of conscience, as Cardinal Manning called it, break faith with me?"

In these lines the opposing points of view are well contrasted. Dr. Barnardo takes it for granted that he is entitled to change the religion of these children because he has fed and clothed their bodies; the Catholic priest, while admitting his inability to succour, has to steel his heart to tell the mother she must face the workhouse, with liberty of conscience, rather than take help which is conditioned by apostasy.

Negotiations for a *concordat* with Dr. Barnardo were on foot very soon after Cardinal Vaughan came to London, but they were not brought to any definite issue. Probably the Cardinal felt that in the long run all negotiations must

prove futile until he was in a position to declare his ability to provide for all the abandoned little ones of his own flock. It was open to him to tell poor Catholic men and women that they must choose the streets and the workhouse rather than the comforts which could come to them only when bought by the price of their children's faith. Even to the Catholic poor that was sometimes a hard saying—to Dr. Barnardo it was an impossible saying. His position was in itself simple enough: "Help your own children if you can and will; but if you cannot, then stand aside and let me do the work in my own way." A nobler type of philanthropist may one day arise who, seeing poverty, shall say to it, "I want to help you only because you represent destitution, and I will not make the fact that I have relieved that destitution a reason for robbing you of your religion." Whether that sort of disinterested charity would ever have made intimate appeal to Dr. Barnardo is doubtful: it is not doubtful that it would have been wholly alien to the ideas current in those circles of Evangelical piety to which all his life Dr. Barnardo made successful appeal. To such people the thought of little brands saved from the burning was an unfailing stimulus in generous giving.

In his usual methodical way Cardinal Vaughan, at the outset, set himself to ascertain as nearly as possible the size and nature of the problem he had to deal with. In 1894 he organised a Religious Census for the diocese, and two years later, with the ascertained and tabulated results of the census before him, he appointed a strong board of inquiry, or Leakage Committee, to probe the problem further. This Committee, which did its work very thoroughly, reported

that, apart from the workhouses, the main causes of loss were the police-courts, certain non-Catholic benevolent Homes, and destitution. The first part of the problem, that relating to the practice of the magistrates in the police-courts, was comparatively simple. In a letter to his flock in the following year the Cardinal put the case simply and clearly. Speaking of the work of the Committee, he said: "They began by employing a paid officer to attend the police-courts and to report on the fate of Catholic children and juveniles brought up before the Bench. He attended nineteen different police-courts, making 125 visits in all, and was present when 130 cases of children and juvenile offenders were dealt with. He found the Protestant missionary always in attendance, and Catholic as well as other children given over to his care, in default of any Catholic agency to receive them. No kind of hostile *animus* towards Catholics is attributed either to the magistrates or to the Protestant missionaries. But it is obvious that, if Catholics do not busy themselves to look after their own in such cases, they can hardly complain if other agencies express a readiness to do so. It is impossible to say how many Catholic children have lost their religion in this way. But here is a common stream of waste, remediable only by the regular employment of Catholic agents to attend the courts. The magistrates have nothing but good will for those who engage honestly in such humanitarian and charitable work, and would give to our agents the same facilities they grant to the Protestant missionaries."

The obvious remedy was to secure the services of Catholic agents in the police-courts who should be always in attendance and ready to claim the custody of Catholic

children. The other two branches of the question, proselytising benevolent societies and sheer destitution, were obviously and closely related. It was the existence of the latter which gave opportunity to the former. This was fully recognised by the Cardinal: "We must hesitate before we reproach our Protestant fellow-countrymen for these losses. Many of them have spoken to us with sufficient plainness, if not with sufficient satisfaction. They have told us that it is not their intention to proselytise; but that as long as the Catholic community in London makes no adequate provision for the Catholic waifs and strays who infest our slums and appear before our police-courts, they, at least, must open the doors of their institutions and give them hearty welcome." Then, after insisting on the importance of family life in keeping the home together, in however humble a way, he continued: "But what in the case where the home has irremediably collapsed? where the children are orphans, where Destitution is seated in her most appalling garb, where vice and crime in human form are embracing young children with both arms? What in the case where tempting invitations place before the starveling child the comforts of a warm home and a decent training, to which no drawback is attached but the certain loss of that Catholic faith which is necessary for salvation? In some of these cases the State, as guardian of Society, comes in with ample provision; but in a large number of cases the State and public opinion expect us, and the Church of God bids us, to take up the cause of our own destitute and orphan children ourselves, if we would not be privy to their becoming criminals or apostates. To do this, even at a cost, ought not to be reckoned by a

Catholic a burden, but a privilege, inasmuch as 'What ye do to the least of these little ones, ye do it unto Me.'

"Though the annual accessions to the Church *ab extra* are to be counted by thousands, our losses *ab intra* are not so much like an oozing or trickling out of drops through a leak as a continuous stream of poor Catholic children borne into the great widening English sea of indifferentism and unbelief, or into Homes in which their faith is finally wrecked. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the number of our losses. Thousands and thousands of Catholic children have been robbed of their faith in past years; they have been emigrated; they have been spirited from one place to another; they have been cut off from all Catholic influence; their very names have been changed, and they have been sent out into the world aliens to the religion of their baptism. The same agencies, and probably the same means, are at work to-day, and our losses continue. How far are we responsible for this waste before God? Who can say? Much has been done, but much remains to be done. It is clear that we are all answerable for what we might do, but don't do; that we are responsible for neglect, if there be any. First the Archbishop as Chief Shepherd is responsible, if he does not find out what he ought to find out, if he does not discover the losses and endeavour to stop them. That shepherd is a hireling who flieth when the wolves attack and devour the sheep; he must sound the alarm, he must call to arms, he must give, if need be, his life. To be silent and listless is the same as to 'fly.' The Archbishop, the Rectors, and their assistant priests are all responsible in their measure before God for the necessary care of the Flock. But if they are not alone responsible, who else

is? You are each and all responsible, dear children in Christ. 'God hath given to every man a commandment concerning his neighbour,' and no man can angrily object, when his brother is dying in need, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' without branding himself with the mark of the race of Cain."

In 1899, as a result of this appeal, a Crusade of Rescue was organised, and the Cardinal saw that in the last resort he must be prepared to make provision for every destitute Catholic child in London. In the autumn of 1901 the Crusade of Rescue was amalgamated with an older Society, the "Homes for Destitute Catholic Children," and placed under the management of Father E. Bans. These Homes had done a great and successful work in the past, but a work may be both great and successful and yet remain inadequate. A new spirit was infused into the administration of these Catholic Homes, and their methods were to be revolutionised. Hitherto only boys had been admitted, but the Cardinal insisted that charity knew no sex line, and that girls and infants must also be provided for. Up to that time the Homes had been carried on in a thoroughly business-like way, the managers doing their best to avoid debt and acting on the principle that a man should try to cut his coat according to his cloth. The number of children taken into the Homes varied with the amount of the funds available for their support. The Cardinal sent prudence to the winds, and gave the Rescue Society these words as a motto to be lived up to: "No Catholic child who is really destitute, or whose faith is in danger, and who cannot be otherwise provided for, is ever refused."

The Society has been true to its trust, and steadily

refused to lower the flag which the Cardinal had done his best to nail to the mast. After his death, at the beginning of 1907, there was a moment of wavering, but the generosity of the Catholic public was equal to the occasion. The year had closed showing a deficit of nearly £10,000, and the bank was clamouring that the overdraft should be reduced. At a General Meeting of the Society it was accordingly proposed that the motto of the Society should be conditioned by the words "Funds permitting." The Report says: "Some held that for a great Catholic charity like ours to live systematically beyond its income was bad business and doubtful morality. Further, it was not a wise policy. We might cry 'Crisis' once too often, and people might tire of giving thousands to pay off a huge deficit. The plan suggested was this—Let children be taken up to the last penny of our available income. When funds were running short, announce to the public that no more children could be taken until further funds were provided. That would be a fairer way of dealing with the charitable than to run up a debt of £10,000 and call upon them to pay it. The income provided by the charitable must be the measure of the work of this Society. If we are provided with a life-boat capable of holding only one hundred, no one can blame us for not saving two hundred from the wreck. Let those who find fault help to furnish a larger boat."

But Father Bans had been chosen by Cardinal Vaughan to preside over this work, and the Cardinal knew his man. Father Bans at once moved the rejection of the amendment, and urged the members not to limit the good the Society was doing, but to go on boldly and to trust to Providence. Father Bans carried the meeting

with him, and the fatal words, "Funds permitting," were rejected. It was all sublimely unbusinesslike, but there was nothing at all unbusinesslike in the steps which were then taken to bring the appeal for help right home to the hearts of the Catholics of England. Within sixteen days the whole of the £10,000 was subscribed. The Society has now to face an annual expenditure of £14,000, and its income is "purely providential"—but it comes.

In the autumn of 1899 Cardinal Vaughan had the great satisfaction of knowing that at last a friendly arrangement had been entered into with Dr. Barnardo, by which Catholic children applying for admission to his Homes should be offered to the Catholic authorities. The credit for bringing about this long-hoped-for *concordat* belongs to Mr. Richard Huth. After talking the matter over fully with Cardinal Vaughan, Mr. Huth volunteered to try to bring about the desired settlement. Rightly judging that Lord Kinnaird would be glad to play the part of the peacemaker, and knowing that he stood high in the confidence of Dr. Barnardo, Mr. Huth determined to try to secure him as an intermediary. Lord Kinnaird did all that was asked of him, and it was largely owing to his influence and kind offices that an arrangement was ultimately arrived at. Dr. Barnardo was even more exacting in his demands than he had shown himself at the time of his first abortive negotiations with the Cardinal five years before. Then he had been willing to consider a proposal to surrender on terms any Catholic child who had been in his Homes for not more than three years; now he declared that he would not treat at all about any child who had been received into a Home—the

negotiations must refer only to children applying at the Receiving Wards. "Once a child, whether Roman Catholic or not, has been admitted to these Homes, I absolutely decline, under any circumstances whatever, except in obedience to the Judges of the land, to dismiss any such child from our Homes on the ground of religious belief." The negotiations were in danger of breaking down at the very outset. It was felt, however, on the Catholic side, that the chance of recovering any considerable number of children from the Barnardo Homes was in any case very remote. Every case would be fought out in the Law Courts, and experience had shown that even a judgment of the High Court had not always availed to effect a rescue. It was felt that if all Catholic children applying at the Receiving Wards could be secured, the Homes would in a short time automatically empty themselves of Catholic children. Authorised to make this concession, Mr. Huth found his path made very much smoother. A good many interviews with Dr. Barnardo were needed before the agreement took definite shape, but eventually, on the 9th of August, a settlement was arrived at, subject to the ratification of the Cardinal. The following memorandum was drawn up the same day by Mr. Huth:—

Summary of Dr. Barnardo's Offer.

He will send on to us all Catholic children who from a given date come into his Receiving Wards.

But on condition—

1. That they shall in fact be received, and not turned into the streets or sent to the workhouse.

2. That in the event of any case not being so received, that case shall be returned to Dr. Barnardo with the reason of its rejection.

3. That no moral or religious pressure be used to prevent any such rejected case returning to Dr. Barnardo.

Dr. Barnardo adds that once a child has passed into the actual Homes (*i.e.*, out of the Receiving Wards) he absolutely declines to give that child up; and if, and in consideration of his so doing, he gives up children coming into the Receiving Wards, he expects not to be molested on account of children in the actual Homes, and that his Eminence will discountenance and, so far as may be, prevent such molestation.

After careful consideration the offer was accepted by Cardinal Vaughan. The following letter speaks for itself:—

"ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
"*September 8th*, 1899.

"DEAR SIR,

"*The Transfer of the Catholic Children applying to your Homes.*

"Referring to the proposals which you have been good enough to entertain that you should send on to us Catholic children and young people of both sexes applying or brought to your Receiving Wards, I have reported to the Cardinal the gist of our conversation at our meeting on August 9th last, and I am directed by his Eminence to convey his assurance that you shall be duly and fully informed as to the treatment of each case of a Catholic child or adolescent sent by you

to the persons appointed by him to receive such. I have also reported to his Eminence that you do not include in the proposed arrangement children already admitted into and become inmates of your Homes, and that—to quote your letter addressed to Lord Kinnaird—you decline to part with any such child on the grounds of religious belief except 'in obedience to the Judges of the land.' And I am to say that the Cardinal hopes that such regrettable occasions of litigation may cease to arise. His Eminence adopts your suggestion that the proposed arrangement should apply to all England, and not merely to his own diocese as originally contemplated. He will communicate as soon as practicable with the other Bishops on the subject.

"I am, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

"RICHARD HUTH."

NOTE.—This letter was authorised by H.E. on October 7th, 1899, at Derwent Hall.

A final interview between Mr. Huth and Dr. Barnardo took place on October 22nd, 1899, at which the former acknowledged the letter of September 8th as a satisfactory acceptance of the terms he had offered. The settlement thus arrived at, on the face of it, presented many opportunities for misunderstanding and conflict, but happily good will and good faith have prevailed on both sides, and no serious difficulty has arisen.

CHAPTER IX

CROSSES BY THE WAYSIDE

AN entry in Cardinal Vaughan's early diary runs: "The School of Suffering is the School of Christ, and happy they who study in it." And that sentence stood not for vague lip-service to a maxim of theology, but for an active and energising faith which through a long life shaped conduct and governed thought. Again and again in the diaries and his familiar letters this thought recurs—that suffering is in truth a blessing for those who know how to use it and to accept it willingly for Christ's sake. It crops up in all sorts of unexpected places in his correspondence. Thus, sandwiched away among letters full of business details to his secretary, Mr. Austin Oates, are passages of this sort: "Sorry to hear of your neuralgia, but not surprised. Get rid of it as soon as you can; but while it is on, a good *Deo gratias* in response to each twinge does wonderful good. I have tried it with immense advantage. For I also have had neuralgia and toothache since I have been here, off and on. Now it is off; but don't forget the *Deo gratias*. We are here to suffer, and the pain of the Cross must find us somewhere. People are such fools and so blind that they think suffering an evil, and do not know its real and eternal value." Another letter runs: "Keep nursing quietly. I hope—and I am sure—that you have

tried to turn all these weeks of sickness into everlasting joy and merit. We cannot do anything better than Our Lord's Will, though we should have ever such fine schemes on hand. And to love and rejoice in doing His Will is almost an anticipation of Heaven: at least it is coming very near to Heaven. You have had more to suffer than I because you have had sharp pain, whereas I was not, perhaps, fit to be tried in that way."

To a great friend he wrote: "Our Lord is doing His work in your soul. He always humbles us when He desires to raise us to Himself. Humility is the first condition—or rather St. Augustine says it is the first, second, and third. So, too, suffering—the Passion and the Cross—is the Royal Highway to Heaven, and there is no other so safe. So you see you are being specially favoured by Our Lord Himself, who does not leave it to you to seek which Cross and which mortification, but gives these bitter medicines and causes these smarting wounds, which in the end bring strength and peace."

Again, we shall find him in later life writing in one of his letters that he always thought the humiliations and mortifications he had put up with during his great begging tour through America had more to do with the success of the Missionary College at Mill Hill than all the thousands of dollars he had collected for it. The "little crosses" came and he had tried to bear them for Our Lord's sake, and so his work had been blessed.

Sometimes crosses came that were not little. One at least must be mentioned here, because it affected him for years afterwards. His brother Roger, the Archbishop of Sydney, returned to England in the summer of 1883, after an absence of ten years. When the vessel reached Liver-

pool the Archbishop at once sent a note to his aunt, Mrs. Weld-Blundell, announcing his arrival and saying he would be at Ince-Blundell the following day. Had he some strange premonition of what was to come? He wrote, "I am coming to Ince for a *long, long* rest! I got little sleep on board, for the berth was as short and as narrow as the coffin for which I shall soon be measured!" At Ince there was a family party to meet him, which included the Bishop of Salford. On the evening of his arrival the Archbishop, though he seemed very worn and tired, was bright and cheerful. It was arranged that he should go to bed early and say a late Mass the next day. Herbert Vaughan went with his brother to his room, and said good-night at the door. The next morning the family assembled in the chapel at nine o'clock; the vestments were ready and the candles on the altar were lit. The minutes slipped away, and still the little congregation waited. At last, after a whispered consultation, it was decided to go to breakfast and let the tired traveller sleep on. After breakfast Herbert Vaughan went to the bedroom, but to his loud knocking there was no answer, and the door was locked. A ladder was then fetched, and Mr. Charles Weld-Blundell climbed into the room through the window. The Archbishop was dead in his bed, and already stiff and cold.

Herbert Vaughan was shocked and distressed, with a sort of stupefying wonder at the mystery of the ways of God. It seemed unintelligible, this cutting off of a life upon which the spiritual welfare of so many appeared to depend. Writing a few days later to Sister Laurentia, a daughter of W. G. Ward, he said: "Many thanks for your affectionate words of condolence under

this mysterious dispensation of Our Good Master. We can only adore His Holy Will." But it was not in his nature to grieve long over the ending of a life he knew had been well spent. He thought of the good that was already garnered, and felt sure the worker had gone to his reward. But there was a shock of quite another sort to come. During his ten years as Archbishop, Roger Vaughan had done a great work in Sydney, and it may be safely said that no public man in Australia ever commanded more general respect. Among his own flock he was regarded with feelings in which affection seemed to vie with reverence; and both found tumultuous expression at a great farewell meeting, one of the most crowded and enthusiastic ever held in Sydney, on the eve of his leaving for England. On the same occasion a large sum of money was presented to him for his personal use in Europe and in token of his people's love. And when, a few days later, he left the city, a little fleet of vessels stood out to sea crowded with people anxious to catch the last glimpse of the liner that was taking him away.

That the Administrator of the orphaned diocese should therefore cable to England to express the general wish of clergy and laity that the body should be brought back to Sydney was only what was anticipated; and it was at once decided by his family that the coffin containing the remains of the Archbishop should be placed in the vault at Ince-Blundell as in a temporary resting-place until suitable arrangements for its removal could be made. The arrival of the Sydney papers a few weeks later confirmed all that Herbert Vaughan had heard of the extraordinary affection with which his brother had been regarded. The *Sydney Echo* gave expression

to the common grief in these words: "'Our Father is dead!' Like a flash of light the terribly sudden news swept through the land last night. It sent a wild throb of pain through the great heart of the Roman Catholic community; preachers faltered with the fearful announcement on their lips, church services broke down, and the house of prayer and praise became the scene of an outburst of grief such as the death of few men ever caused." The *Morning Herald*, with greater detail, told of the scene when the news was broken to the people in St. Mary's Cathedral: "The bells rang out a muffled peal. The High Altar of the Cathedral was draped in black. After some prayers had been said the Very Rev. Dean Mahoney, who was much affected, ascended the pulpit. He said: 'The hand of the Lord is heavy upon us to-night.' After a pause he added with much emotion, 'We are orphans.' The congregation seemed utterly incapable of realising the cause of the speaker's emotion, and the import of the announcement. After another pause the Dean essayed to make his meaning a little clearer, and said, 'Our Archbishop, our father——' but the two closing words of the sentence remained unsaid, and the people burst into loud cries. When the manifestations of grief had somewhat subsided the Dean added, 'A telegram conveying the sad intelligence reached us this afternoon from his brother, the Bishop of Salford. The Archbishop died suddenly yesterday in Liverpool. You will not expect me to say more. Even though you do I cannot.'"

In the light of subsequent events it must be regarded as unfortunate that the reply to the Administrator's request, that the burial should take place in Australia, was

not sent by cable but in the ordinary way, by post. Those weeks of silence, perhaps, made all the difference.

It was some months before the vacant See was filled, and from one cause or another no immediate steps were taken to send the body of its Archbishop back to Sydney; and, in the interval, the people, it seems, had changed their minds. Their enthusiasm had so cooled that at last it became the duty of the Administrator to explain to the new occupant of the See, Cardinal Moran, that nobody in Sydney wanted to hear any more about bringing the body back. And so Herbert Vaughan had to be told that his brother had better be buried somewhere in England—that there was no room in Australia for his grave. Then it became known that the dead man had left all his fortune—including the sum given in token of everlasting affection—for the service of those who now refused him burial in Australia. The following correspondence, published first in Sydney and afterwards in London, completes a story which ought to find a place in any future history of the Australian democracy:—

"VENICE, *August 12th*, 1885.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received your kind letter yesterday, just before I left Rome on my onward journey; and I hasten to thank you for the congratulations which it conveyed.

"As regards the translation of your brother's remains to Sydney, it is quite out of the question. The administrator of the diocese *vacante sede*, who was Vicar-General of the late Archbishop, assured me that no one in Sydney would wish the matter spoken of, and not one penny would be contributed towards that purpose; and, in the unfinished state of the Cathedral, I don't see how I could give my approval to it. The diocese has nobly done its part in erecting a memorial window to commemorate

the late Archbishop. Its cost will be about £2,000, and its erection has entailed on the Cathedral committee the additional expense of about £5,000, in order to prepare the north gable to receive it. The whole matter of the translation of the remains to Downside or any other site now rests entirely in the hands of the family of the illustrious deceased and the Religious Order to which he belonged. As regards the large sum of money which he bequeathed to his successor in the See of Sydney, I am happy to inform you that every penny of it has been already devoted by me to various religious purposes. I expect to sail from London in the *Liguria* on September 16th, and have already engaged the berths for myself, six nuns of the Little Company of Mary for assisting the sick, and seven or eight priests. My address in the meantime will be Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Dublin.

"Believe me to remain your most devoted servant,

"✠ PATRICK F. CARD. MORAN,

"Archbishop of Sydney."

"BISHOP'S HOUSE, SALFORD, *August 31st*, 1885.

"MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—In reply to your letter of the 12th inst., I beg to point out that your Eminence has misunderstood the purport of my communication. You speak of the reasons why the remains of the late Archbishop should not be removed to Sydney, of the cost of the memorial window, and of your having already spent every penny of the money which he bequeathed to his successor in the See on various objects. Your Eminence will see from reference to my letter that I expressed no wish whatever upon any of these subjects, and that they do not touch the point.

"Let me then put the point more plainly. The remains of the late Archbishop are yet unburied, and the first charge upon the personalty of a deceased person is for his funeral service and burial. You are good enough to say that you leave the expense of his burial (which you call a translation) entirely to his family and the Religious Order to which he belonged. This proposal cannot be accepted. The expenses must come from the

legitimate and regular source—*i.e.*, from the personalty. Your Eminence will hardly insist on the fact that you have already spent the personalty as a reason for declining this obligation, when I call to your memory that before you had entered into actual possession of it, you had promised to examine into the question upon your arrival in Sydney as to whether the remains of the second Archbishop of that See were to be buried in England or in Australia, and to let me know. I need not say that, although I received no intimation, the obligation of providing for the decent burial of the corpse still rests upon him who has succeeded to everything he left behind.

"I very much doubt whether the people of Australia will be gratified if they learn that of the magnificent sum they gave him for his personal use on his journey to Europe, his successor, to whom he bequeathed everything, declines to be at the expense of the burial of his remains.

"Pray excuse the plainness with which I have ventured to express myself, and believe me to be, my dear Lord Cardinal, your faithful and devoted servant,

"✠ HERBERT, Bishop of Salford."

"BISHOP'S HOUSE, SALFORD, *September 8th*, 1885.

"MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—I should like to receive from your Eminence a final decision respecting the claim upon the personalty of the late Archbishop for the expenses of his burial, about which I wrote in reply to your letter from Venice.

"I add a few details which, if not already known to your Eminence, will make the case clearer perhaps than it has appeared to you to be.

"In consequence of the desire in Sydney that the remains of the Archbishop should be buried in that city, the burial service was altogether omitted at Ince-Blundell after the usual Absolutions, and the corpse was removed to a place under the sacristy till it should be conveyed for burial to Sydney. This was announced in the Catholic papers at the time, as well as the reception of a telegram from Australia begging that the remains might be sent to Sydney.

"An unfortunate delay in replying to the telegram occurred through a misapprehension; but after the reply had been sent, together with the notice that the corpse was about to be translated to Sydney, a second telegram from Dr. Sheridan was received, saying that another resolution had been come to, and that it would not be convenient to receive the corpse of the late Archbishop in Sydney. The other incidents of my communication with your Eminence, when you were in Salford, are before you. It is, of course, obvious that the remains of the late Archbishop cannot be allowed to lie much longer unburied in the place where they were laid for a time in order to carry out with less expense the desire which had been expressed from Sydney, and which had suspended their actual interment in England.

"The expenses incurred up to that time, including a sum for Masses, were recognised and paid through a communication made by Father Gillett out of the late Archbishop's personalty. There is now the duty of giving interment to the remains, and consequently the duty of paying the charges which will be made by the undertaker for their decent removal and burial in Herefordshire; for we may presume that the Archbishop's desire would have been to be buried in Herefordshire had he known that he would die and be buried in England. Your Eminence will not fail to observe that had not the desire been expressed that the burial should take place in Sydney, the remains would have been buried at once in England, and that the additional cost would have been paid like the rest out of the personalty. The subsequent resolution passed in Sydney did not relieve the personalty from the charges for the burial, still less could it throw the charge for interment upon any of his brothers, or upon the Religious Order with which he was connected. I will only add, that there is no question now of the cost going for the religious ceremonial, still less of the cost of a monument, which would naturally be borne by those who might wish to erect one. The claim is simply for undertaker's and workmen's expenses in effecting the decent and proper burial of the corpse of the second Archbishop of Sydney, which still remains uninterred,

and I submit that those ordinary and proper expenses should come out of the personalty.

"Believe me, my dear Lord, to be your faithful and devoted servant,

"✠ HERBERT, Bishop of Salford.

"To His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney."

"17, MOUNTJOY SQUARE, DUBLIN,
"*September* 10*th*, 1885.

"MY DEAR LORD,—In reply to your Lordship's letters I really have but little to add to what I have already written. The public papers announced the fact, which every one knew to be correct, that Dr. Vaughan's remains were interred with due solemnity in the family vault. If there had been any mistake in the matter the blame must rest upon somebody's shoulders. It certainly does not rest on mine. It appears to me that there can be no more appropriate place for the late Archbishop's repose than the family vault at the mansion where he died. If the family desire to transfer his remains elsewhere, I have no objection to their doing so, but it certainly will not be done at my expense.

"Believe me to remain yours faithfully,

"✠ PATRICK F. CARD. MORAN,
"Archbishop of Sydney."

The lesson of that correspondence bit deep. Herbert Vaughan thought it was a warning which ought to cure any one of a wish for popularity. There is little doubt that the whole painful incident helped to strengthen that singular independence of temper and indifference to public opinion which so marked the later years of his life. It was a heavy cross, and hard to bear at the time, but he turned it to account.

A strange form of prayer which the Cardinal favoured was that of a petition to God to send him some public

humiliation if such were good for his soul. It was the Cross in the guise which perhaps of all others seemed the most painful to him. At one moment in his career as Archbishop he may have thought that that prayer had been heard. It is of interest to see how he bore himself when for a moment he seemed betrayed into a false position and even held up to public ridicule.

It was in the days when he was still busy with his plans for the building of Westminster Cathedral. His attention had been called to the fact that in the great Basilica of St. Sernin in Toulouse there were treasured relics for centuries reverenced as those of St. Edmund, the royal martyr of England. In 1893, the Rev. J. B. MacKinlay had published a volume entitled *St. Edmund, King and Martyr*. The book had run the gauntlet of the criticism of the Press, and none had challenged the statement, which seemed to rest on the tradition of ages, that the body of the Saint had been taken from its shrine at St. Edmundsbury by the French Prince who afterwards became Louis VIII when he came to help the Barons in their quarrel with King John. The story ran that the French Prince, being called to the South of France to crush the Albigensian Rebellion, had taken the body of the English Saint with him to Toulouse, and there deposited it in the famous Basilica of St. Sernin. According to the compilers of the *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, an inventory of the treasures of the Basilica taken in 1489 recorded the fact that the "*corpus Sancti Aymundi regis Angliae quondam*" was at that time in a marble coffin (*vasa*) in the crypt of St. Sernin. It is beyond dispute that in 1630–1631, when Toulouse was being ravaged by the Plague, the

townsmen vowed a shrine to the relics of St. Edmund the King. In fulfilment of the vow, in July, 1644, the Archbishop of Toulouse opened a tomb inscribed "*Ici repose le vénérable corps de St. Edmond Roy d'Angleterre*," and with great pomp and ceremony transferred the bones to a shrine of silver given to the town. One of those who took part in this act of thanksgiving was one of the Canons of the Basilica, Pierre de Caseneuve. In his *Vie de St. Edmond* Caseneuve accepts without question the authenticity of the relics, and notes the tradition that they had been brought to Toulouse by Louis VIII. "*On croit que ce fut le Roy Louys huitième qui en fit présent à cette vénérable Église.*"

When Cardinal Vaughan heard of these things, that far away in the South of France there had been erected a glorious shrine to an English Saint, and that the relics it contained had been an object of veneration to the people of Toulouse for centuries, his heart was at once filled with a great desire. In his impulsive way he resolved to do what a man might to recover the bones of the Martyr for England and to bring them to Westminster Cathedral. The difficulties in the way might well have daunted him, but he laid his plans boldly and skilfully. His mind was so preoccupied with the problem how to get the Basilica of Toulouse to surrender its treasure, that it may be doubted whether any question as to the authenticity of the relics ever presented itself to his mind. The very fact that the memory of the Saxon King had been held in special honour for so long in this out-of-the-way corner of Europe in itself seemed to raise a strong presumption in favour of the truth of a tradition attested by so many

witnesses for so many years. From the outset the Cardinal was shut off from advice which might have helped him, by the necessity of acting with the greatest secrecy. He took counsel with Cardinal Mathieu, who had formerly been Archbishop of Toulouse, and other distinguished French ecclesiastics, but only as to the possibility of securing the relics for England. Their replies were not encouraging. It is true that in the time of another Archbishop of Toulouse, the late Cardinal Desprez, a small fragment of the bones believed to be those of the English Martyr had been given to St. Edmund's English Benedictine House at Douai. But to ask that the whole body should be transferred to London was a very different thing. Even if the ecclesiastical authorities in Toulouse could be persuaded to part with the relics, it was thought very unlikely that the French Government would allow them to go to England.

Cardinal Vaughan paid very little heed to the views of the French Government, but to facilitate the negotiations in Toulouse suggested that the gift of the relics should not be directly to him or the country he represented, but to the Sovereign Pontiff. This, largely through the kind offices of Cardinal Mathieu, was eventually arranged. The authorities in Toulouse presented the remains to the Pope, well knowing that he in turn would sooner or later give them to England. Early in July, 1901, the relics were taken to Rome and deposited in a chapel in the Vatican. Some weeks later Mgr. Merry del Val was commissioned to take them to England and deliver them into the care of Cardinal Vaughan. While these arrangements were being made

the strictest secrecy was enjoined on all parties. It was only after Mgr. Merry de Val had actually started on his journey that the news of what was being done reached the ears of a well-known English canonist then staying in Rome, who knew Toulouse well and also something of the history of many of the relics preserved in the Basilica of St. Sernin. He felt at once that the remains believed to be those of St. Edmund ought not to go to England to be offered for public veneration without a much more critical inquiry as to their authenticity than any that was likely to have taken place in Toulouse. He gave urgent warning, but the relics were already on their way to Arundel Castle, where they were to wait until a shrine was ready for them in Westminster Cathedral.

The *Tablet* of July 27th, 1901, contained the first of a series of articles entitled "The Return of St. Edmund." It told how the remains of the body of the Martyr had reached Newhaven on the previous Thursday, and had temporarily been placed in the private chapel at Arundel Castle. The writer of the articles was the Benedictine Father, the Rev. J. B. MacKinlay, who, as the author of the work on the life of St. Edmund, was an acknowledged specialist on the subject. So far all had gone well, and Cardinal Vaughan had accomplished all that he had planned. He had overcome the only difficulties he knew of. A day or two later, however, a storm of controversy broke loose in the public Press. It very soon became clear that though the bones which had been deposited in the chapel at Arundel were undoubtedly those of some one who for ages had been venerated as a saint, it was practically certain they were not those of the Saxon King. The evidence on this point was cumulative and

overwhelming. It was shown by Sir Ernest Clarke and others that in 1515 there was in circulation in Toulouse a book written by an advocate of local distinction, Nicholas Bertrand, in which the body in the Basilica was described as "*corpus beati Aymundi confessoris regis Angliae.*" Two years later a French translation of this work appeared, and the description of St. Aymund is given as "*confesseur du Roy d'Angleterre.*" Forty years later the volume was republished with a declaration on the title-page that the work had been revised and augmented. In this edition the same words are used, "*confesseur du Roy d'Angleterre.*" Again it was shown that "in August, 1256, forty years after the alleged stealing of the body by the French, Pope Alexander IV confirmed statutes made for the governance of the Monastery of St. Edmund at Bury, which provided: "First, that the monks are to eat and drink in the refectory, and sleep in one dormitory, two persons watching the body of St. Edmund and two the Church Treasure and clock night and day."

But it was the English evidence which made the case hopeless. More than two hundred years after the alleged seizure of the body of the Saint by the French Prince we find William Paston, in 1429, admitted to the privileges of the Confraternity of St. Edmund in consideration of "the devotion which you have to God and our Monastery, in which the most glorious King and Martyr, Edmund, corporally and incorruptibly reposes." Several extracts from the Patent Rolls of Edward III were also cited to show that beyond all doubt at that time the body of the Martyr was believed to be still at Bury St. Edmunds.

To Cardinal Vaughan the whole correspondence came

as a bad disappointment. He read the letters in the *Times* morning after morning with the saddest sense of frustration. He had worked so hard and succeeded so well—and all in vain. He had persuaded Toulouse to present its cherished relics to Rome, and Rome to give them to London; now it was discovered that there was nothing certain to give. He was due to speak at the annual Catholic Conference which was to be held that year in Newcastle on the 9th of September. That gave him the opportunity he wanted. Unless he were assured that the relics were genuine, he could not allow them to be exposed for public veneration. That was certain, and he would say so. He thought the best way out of the difficulty would be to explain that he had appointed a committee of scholars to consider the question and report. Writing to the Bishop of Newport a few days before, he said: "I am going to say a sentence or two at Newcastle to the effect that the authenticity shall be looked into by historical experts." On the eve of the Conference, speaking to a friend, he said that he meant to dismiss the matter with a few words, just saying the whole question would be considered by a Commission whose conclusions would be accepted as final.

But when he retired for the night Herbert Vaughan sat down with Sir Ernest Clarke's letter before him. He was alone with the truth. When he rose from reading it, it was with a new resolve. Was it right to shuffle on to a Commission a responsibility that was his own? Was not the appointment of a Commission a suggestion that he himself was still in doubt? The reasoning in Sir Ernest Clarke's letter seemed irresistible, and the Cardinal accepted it. It was a moment of difficulty. If it had

been a question only of "saving his own face" there would have been no hesitation; but he had to think of his friends in Toulouse who had given their treasure to him, and he had to think of the authorities in Rome. He thought of it all, long and anxiously, but when the dawn came it found him with his mind made up. He would not pretend that he was waiting for the verdict of a Commission when he knew already. He was satisfied that the bones were not the bones of the English Martyr, and so, in all simplicity, he would say so.

Standing on the platform at Newcastle that evening, to the astonishment of friend and foe he threw over the whole case for the genuineness of the relics with both hands, and publicly thanked the iconoclast who had destroyed his illusions:—

"You have heard of St. Edmund, the Martyr and King of East Anglia, and of the controversy that has arisen as to his relics. I am going to make a very open confession to you. Having built a Cathedral, the thought and desire occurred to me of enriching it with the relics of St. Edmund the King, which the tradition of Toulouse said were held as a precious treasure in the Church of St. Sernin. To me, who am, I regret to say, entirely without experience in studies of historical research, the matter seemed to be certain. I therefore petitioned the Holy Father to obtain this treasure for the Cathedral of Westminster. And his Holiness desiring to gratify the Catholics of England, and believing that Englishmen in general would be pleased to see the remains of a Saxon King brought back to England, obtained for us from the Archbishop of Toulouse what we all believed to be the bones of St. Edmund the King. Shortly after their arrival in England two learned authorities, Dr. James, of Cambridge, and Dr. Bigg, of Oxford, wrote letters to the *Times* calling in question their authenticity. They did not seem to be absolutely

conclusive, but upon the suggestion of the Bishop of Clifton and of Abbot Gasquet and others, I determined to submit the whole question to experts in England and France, so that we might by means of their researches clear up difficulties and turn a pious belief into a positive certainty one way or the other. But last Thursday Sir Ernest Clarke published the report of what appears to be an exhaustive and careful examination into the question of the authenticity of the relics, so that the Committee of experts I have referred to will have their task, I should think, very much lightened, if they do not find that it has been already accomplished. I confess that Sir Ernest Clarke's evidence seems to me, who am, however, very far from being an expert, overwhelming and conclusive; and I therefore, subject to further examination and verification by experts, hasten to express to him my hearty and sincere thanks for the services he appears to have rendered."

There are letters among Cardinal Vaughan's papers which show that there were some abroad whom his language on this occasion gravely displeased. In Toulouse especially there were many who thought that he had acted with unnecessary haste, and perhaps even with less than due regard for his own dignity. I think his own countrymen were wiser.

Of another sort were the "crosses" which came to the Cardinal in the simple execution of his duties as Defender of the Faith in his diocese; for though a Bishop is, pre-eminently, a man of blessings, at times it is his bounden duty to ban. In the early Salford days Bishop Vaughan had to pass judgment on the writer of a letter in the *Times*, which seemed incompatible with a full acceptance of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. The fact that the offender bore an historic name, and was a local magnate, could not deter the Bishop from decisive action. He asked for

a Profession of Faith, and was refused, and thereupon he publicly warned the clergy not to allow the offender to approach the Sacraments. Herbert Vaughan had done only what seemed his plain duty; but many tongues were let loose against him. Even good Catholics were perplexed—and for this reason, that while a comparatively obscure man had been selected for condemnation, a far more conspicuous offender, as they supposed, was let go, apparently without rebuke, in another diocese. One of the greatest scholars of the age, the first Lord Acton, with his knowledge of all the history of the Middle Ages at his back, was telling in the *Times* of the follies and the crimes of the Popes; and, to many outsiders at least, it seemed that by him the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility was overtly questioned. Even Catholics who knew better what is meant by the Infallibility of the Pope were scandalised. And when nothing happened, people asked in perplexity why Herbert Vaughan had struck when Manning held his hand—why the one had rushed in where the other had feared to tread. Then the facile answer came that the Bishop was young and inexperienced, and narrow-minded, and a bigot; and in certain circles it was common to contrast his blundering zeal with the large charity of the convert Cardinal. Herbert Vaughan took up the cross and said never a word in reply or extenuation; and at last the dust of years covered the thing. It was one of the great silences of his life.

Only when they had all gone to the grave—Manning and Acton and Vaughan—were the true facts made known. In a letter written to Richard Simpson in January, 1875, Lord Acton says:—

"ALDENHAM.

"Manning, in a letter which you will receive with my comments enclosing it, says he must leave the thing in the hands of the Pope, as everybody tells him I don't believe the Vatican Council. He means, it seems to me, that he simply asks Rome to excommunicate me—a thing really almost without example, and incredible in the case of a man who has not attacked the Council, who declares that he has not, and that the Council is his law, though private interpretations are not, whose Diocesan has, after inquiry, pronounced him exempt from all anathema."

He then asks Simpson for suggestions as to the best form of reply. Simpson's answer, dated January, 1875, lets us see clearly what had taken place:—

"You have now a right to state your own case, and to demand that the statement should go with the other papers to Rome. (1) You published your letter in the London *Times*. (2) Manning thereupon asked you two questions: (*a*) your intention in the letter; (*b*) your private belief. (3) You distinguished his right and authority as having published the letter in his diocese. You (*a*) disclaimed all schismatical meaning in the letter; (*b*) you evaded all reply to the second, since he, not being your diocesan, had no right to ask it. (4) Manning professed himself glad to receive the reply (*a*), but insisted on a reply to his second question. (5) Meanwhile you had satisfied your own Bishop as to your orthodoxy. (6) Manning, having ascertained this, begins with a new charge, that you have given public scandal in his diocese, and must publicly retract it. (7) Your reply to this might be: (1) You have publicly, in your second letter to the *Times*, repudiated the only explanation of your letter which could justly give scandal. (2) That if scandal still exists, it is either reasonable or unreasonable. If the former, let the passages be produced on which the reason is founded, and you will either explain them, or, if necessary, retract them. (3) But having had it already acknowledged by Manning that he believed you had no

schismatical intent in the letter, and having satisfied your own Bishop and other theologians that your letters do not in any way attack the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, it is absurd to ask you so to confess that doctrine, as by that confession to repair any alleged scandal arising from your letters."[1]

Manning, therefore, had done just what Herbert Vaughan had done in a similar case—required a declaration of faith in the decrees of the Vatican Council. But Lord Acton had replied that "the Council was his law," and that he had already given assurances which his own Bishop, Dr. Brown, had accepted as satisfactory.

The sequel has its own interest. When Herbert Vaughan came to Westminster the incidents of 1875 had for the general public largely passed out of mind, but for many of his fellow-Catholics Lord Acton was still an object of suspicion and distrust. What the world had so easily forgotten, Herbert Vaughan had good reason for remembering. He knew that in the crisis of the storm Lord Acton had satisfied his Bishop, and had unquestioningly accepted the decrees of the Vatican. Perhaps, also, the Cardinal remembered the noble words with which Lord Acton had ended the most memorable of his letters to the *Times* (November 24th, 1874) when, after speaking of the teaching and authority of the Church "whose Communion is dearer to me than life," he continued :—

"Our Church stands and our faith shall stand, not on the writing of men, but on the surer ground of an institution and guidance that are divine. Therefore I rest unshaken in the belief that nothing which the inmost depths of history shall disclose in time to come shall ever bring to Catholics just cause of shame or fear. I should

[1] *Lord Acton and his Circle*, edited by Abbot Gasquet (Burns and Oates).

dishonour and betray the Church if I entertained a suspicion that the evidences of religion could be weakened or the authority of Councils sapped by a knowledge of the facts with which I have been dealing, or of others which are not less grievous or less certain because they remain untold."

It was, therefore, one of Cardinal Vaughan's cherished hopes, as Archbishop, that he might find an opportunity to do something to rehabilitate Lord Acton in the esteem of any of his doubting co-religionists, and to show him to the world as a loyal and consistent Catholic. Early in 1895, when Lord Acton was appointed Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, the Cardinal saw his opportunity and took it. He wrote from Rome :—

"My dear Lord Acton,—I was proposing to myself a few days ago to write to congratulate you on your appointment to the Regius Professorship of History at Cambridge, but as usual here a multiplicity of affairs delays the execution of good intentions. But this morning I have received an article from the *Irish Catholic* which has simply infuriated me, and I write to congratulate you on your appointment, and to say how I rejoice in your nomination to the distinguished post, and how confident I feel in your goodness and fidelity to the Church. I know and understand something of the awful trials you must have gone through in years past, and I cannot but thank God that you are what I believe you to be—faithful and loyal to God and to His Church, though, perhaps, by your great learning and knowledge of the human in this same Church, tried beyond other men. Pray accept, therefore, my affectionate congratulations and greetings, and be assured that you shall have a share in my poor

prayers that you may unflinchingly do God's work during the career at Cambridge which is opening before you.

"Believe me to be,

"Your faithful and devoted servant,

"HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN."

A few days later he had this reply:—

"MUNICH, *April 30th*, 1895.

"MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—I was down with congestion of the lungs when I received from your Eminence the kindest and most touching letter that it has ever been my happy fortune to possess. If I was not afraid of being presumptuous, I would in reply assure you that you have judged me rightly as well as most graciously, and I beg that you will believe in my sincere gratitude for all you say. I see that you have returned to England, and I hope that my thankful acknowledgments of your encouraging good wishes will reach you before you start on your historic expedition to Orleans. My Cambridge office is full of interest and promising opportunities; but the danger is that it is almost more a platform before the country than a *cathedra* with serious students under it.

"I remain,

"Your Eminence's most faithful and obedient servant,

"ACTON."

If the Cardinal's letter seemed to Lord Acton the "kindest and most touching" he had ever received, his reply, it is safe to say, gave even greater pleasure. It seemed the answer to many prayers, and for Cardinal Vaughan it sweetened all the years that came after it. At the greatest event of the Archiepiscopate, the laying of

the foundation-stone of Westminster Cathedral, Lord Acton was present at the Cardinal's special invitation, and as an honoured guest replied for one of the toasts at the public lunch which followed the ceremony.

There was another "cross," in some ways the most perplexing and painful of all—an episode in which, years afterwards, Cardinal Vaughan appeared very publicly as the Defender of the Faith against one who, during a long life, had himself gloried in his inclusion among the most fervent of the Faithful.

Dr. St. George Mivart, as a man of science, had a fame not inferior to that achieved by Lord Acton in the department of history. A convert at so early an age that Oscott, not Oxford, completed his formal education, he entered with unbounded zeal and enthusiasm on the task of readjusting those apparent discrepancies between dogma and science which recent discoveries and speculations had brought in view. Men on each side acknowledged his eminence. The value of his contributions to the Evolution controversy was attested by Darwin himself; he was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Master in Biology; and, besides receiving a Doctor's Cap from the Pontiff, he held Chairs in the University of Louvain and at the Kensington College which was the hoped-for beginning of a Catholic University in England. Great, therefore, was the general consternation and distress when, at the beginning of the twentieth century, articles appeared over the signature of St. George Mivart, now an old man, contradicting, and that flagrantly, the doctrine and the discipline of which during the last fifty years of the departed century, and throughout the whole period of his full and undeplenished

maturity, he had been the constant champion. One article in the *Nineteenth Century* of July, 1900, was too plainly perverted not to call for an immediate condemnation. Personal friends said privately that a complete explanation might be found in the failing health of the writer; but there was, as is common in such cases, the baffling virility and balance of judgment in other departments of life and thought. If they were right, the conditions of the controversy were patently unjust; they were even grotesque; for whereas a man, at the close of a career of abounding vitality, may seek to take his own life, and may be foiled in that frenzy by guardianship, none can interfere to prevent him from maiming the reputation he has hitherto held most dear. If his playthings are not explosives that come within the Act, none the less surely is he handling moral and intellectual dynamite, and handling it in a delirium of rejection of the old control. Obviously Authority could deal only with the outer proclamation; it could not enter into the sick-chamber, still less into the sanctuary of the soul. A painful correspondence followed between the Cardinal and the Professor, afterwards published in the *Times*, with omissions generously made in the interests of one of the combatants, and that one not the Cardinal. Then, suddenly, Death came to put a close to the fantastic chapter which was a contradiction to all the life-history that had preceded it; and this passing away was also an explanation. For one of the portents of the disease from which St. George Mivart died is in fact a very reversal of a man's veritable self; so that the miser beneath its thrall becomes a spendthrift, the spendthrift a miser, and the man of faith faithless, as if indeed the valve of self-control must in use

in health was the very one to give out when the illness came. Sir William Broadbent, the medical adviser of St. George Mivart, after his death gave an unhesitating certificate to this effect; and those nearest and dearest to the dead man, assured that his aberrations were those that lay beyond his will, would not accept as final the ban that had followed on his refusal to make a profession of Faith, a ban that now consequently decreed for him a non-Catholic burial.

The Cardinal's position was a peculiarly painful one. But, as he explained at the time to the present Archbishop, then Bishop of Southwark, it was clear and simple. He did not dispute the sufficiency of the medical testimony; at the same time he felt that there had been a great public scandal, and that therefore before burial with Catholic rites could be sanctioned an equal publicity must be given to the reasons for believing that the estranged man, during the last period of his long life, was not morally responsible for all his acts and words. There was some hesitation about the sanction for this publication, and even, perhaps, some misunderstanding as to what was required. The Cardinal was very ill, and in bed; and negotiations had to be carried on through intermediaries. But whatever the reason, the condition the Cardinal insisted on was not accepted in the way in which he thought it ought to be accepted, and the Catholic burial did not take place.

Dr. Mivart was happy in his friends, and these, satisfied that in the event a practical injustice had been done, decided some months later to approach the Cardinal with a view to a reconsideration of the whole question. The Cardinal replied that he was quite willing that the case

should be reopened, but pleaded that he personally was no longer in a fit state of health to undertake anything like a judicial inquiry. Let them wait—it would not be for long—and then his successor should decide. Thus it was that when, soon after the appointment of that successor, the case was again taken up by Dr. Mivart's friends, with a view to having the body transferred to a Catholic place of burial with the rites of the Church, the new Archbishop could but repeat the condition he had received from his predecessor's own lips. The condition was accepted; the Archbishop was authorised to make the facts publicly known, whenever he thought well; and the interment took place very quietly in St. Mary's Cemetery, Kensal Green, on January 18th, 1904. Those who knew Dr. St. George Mivart best will feel most confident that in this instance the way of peace was also the way of justice.

It was a lighter cross, but still a cross, when the Cardinal found himself called upon to trouble about and give time and thought to matters which, in themselves trivial, had yet a certain official significance. For instance, how could he bring himself to care whether he went into a room first or last? Yet circumstances made it his duty to seem to assert claims which could not easily be admitted.

We learn from the biography of Archbishop Benson that that prelate used to regard the question of Cardinal Vaughan's precedence "with an amused irritation." It cannot be said that the subject caused Herbert Vaughan either amusement or irritation. To few men could the subject of social precedence in its personal aspects have mattered less. In whatever assembly he found himself he was necessarily a Man of Men—Nature had arranged

that; and whether he passed first or last mattered very little. At the same time, it was a subject of grave concern to him lest the dignity he bore, his rank as Cardinal and Prince of the Church, should suffer any derogation in his hands. As successor of Cardinal Manning, he seemed to have inherited an assured position. Cardinal Manning, when he was appointed to serve on the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor in 1884, was given a precedence, under the Queen's sign-manual and with the assent of the Heir to the Throne, which, on that occasion, placed him immediately after the Royal Family. The Commission was signed by Sir William Harcourt as Home Secretary, and the order of precedence it set forth must be regarded as the official act of the then Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone. It would be difficult to imagine a more formal or official or binding precedent. At the moment the question seems to have passed almost unnoticed, and certainly without challenge. Six years later, however, two years before Cardinal Manning's death, the subject was brought before the public by a correspondent in the *Times*, and a lively controversy was the result. Mr. Francis Heath had drawn up a Memorial to the Postmaster General in favour of the establishment of an express letter service. In due course the Memorial was published in the *Times*, and appended to it were the following signatures in the order given:—

Henry E. Card. Manning,
Henry A. Isaacs (Lord Mayor),
Randolph S. Churchill
John Lubbock,
F. Londin.,
Wolseley.

A day or two later an indignant correspondent wrote to ask who was the first citizen of London—Cardinal Manning or the Lord Mayor? He recalled the legend that a bold Lord Mayor had once asserted his right of precedence, within the City limits, even against the Heir to the Throne. And yet Sir Henry Isaacs had given way to a Roman Cardinal. The correspondent felt that the British Constitution was in danger, and wrote accordingly. Mr. Heath at once replied, and did his best to pour oil on the troubled waters. He only was responsible. Cardinal Manning's name appeared first because he had been asked first. Mr. Heath had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and knowing his readiness to help every good cause, Mr. Heath had applied to him first—*voilà tout.*

Mr. Heath would have strengthened his case if he had pointed out that the order of the other signatures ought to have made it clear that they had been arranged without regard for the ordinary rules of precedence. It was proper that the signature of the Bishop of London should be placed below that of Lord Randolph Churchill—for Bishops rank after the younger sons of Dukes, and even after the younger sons of Marquesses—but why after that of Sir John Lubbock? Unfortunately, however, Mr. Heath forgot to communicate with the Lord Mayor. Sir Henry Isaacs, at a Committee dinner of the Corporation of the City of London, on the 9th of June, 1890, referred to the subject, and sweeping aside the coincidence story, and perhaps unaware of it, boldly justified the precedence he had yielded the Cardinal upon the precedent created by the Royal Commission in 1884. The following rather unsatisfactory summary of the Lord

Mayor's remarks is taken from the report supplied to the *Times* :—

"The Lord Mayor then referred to the fact that Cardinals had been regarded all over the Continent of Europe, except in England, since the loss of the temporalities of the Pope as deposed Princes. This position was recognised in England in 1884, when Cardinal Manning was appointed a member of the Committee of the Housing of the Poor. Mr. Gladstone then carefully considered the bearings of the case, and, with the full concurrence of Lord Salisbury, recommended the Queen to place the Cardinal's name immediately after that of the Prince of Wales and before that of the present Premier (Lord Salisbury). The Lord Mayor said that the greatest stickler for old customs would agree with him that if Cardinal Manning could, by consent of the Prime Minister, place his name immediately after that of the Prince of Wales, surely no reasonable man would tax the Lord Mayor with want of loyalty to his office because he appended his name to any document after the name of such a man as Cardinal Manning."

This defiant speech was naturally fuel to the flames. Dr. Preston, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Runcorn, at once determined to get to the bottom of the mystery and to ascertain who was responsible for the precedence conceded to Cardinal Manning in 1884. With this object in view he wrote to Lord Salisbury, Mr. Gladstone, and the Prince of Wales. Lord Salisbury hastened to explain that he was not in office at the time, and so was certainly not guilty. Mr. Gladstone declined all responsibility, and intimated that in his opinion the Cardinal had no temporal rank of any kind. The answer of the Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII, was of another sort. With characteristic generosity and courage, he took the whole responsibility for what had happened, and avowed

that it was by his advice that the Cardinal's name had appeared immediately after his own. This letter, written by Lord (then Sir Francis) Knollys, ran as follows :—

"SIR,—I am desired by the Prince of Wales to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th inst., and to inform you that it is quite correct that, on being consulted as to the precedence which Cardinal Manning should occupy on the Royal Commission for the Housing of the Working Classes, his Royal Highness expressed an opinion that, as a matter of courtesy, the name of the Cardinal should appear immediately after his own.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

"MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, *July 22nd.*"

This, of course, was final and decisive; but the *Times*, in summing up the controversy, took the occasion to rub in the fact that, whatever the Prince might have recommended out of the goodness of his heart, the official precedence assigned to the Cardinal was the official act of the Prime Minister who sanctioned it—Mr. Gladstone. The question still remained how far this official precedence, granted under the sign-manual of the Queen and by the authority of the Prime Minister and at the instance of the Heir to the Throne, could be considered a binding precedent. Some alleged that it in no way governed the future and was merely an act of courtesy, and personal to Cardinal Manning. It was a position difficult to maintain. In a sense it is true to say that all questions

of etiquette and precedence are matters of courtesy. But they are matters which in all Courts are governed by a code of rules so strict that their interpretation has become almost an exact science. By far the most interesting letter which appeared during the discussion was one published in the *Morning Post*, a contribution from the brilliant pen of Mr. J. E. C. Bodley. Mr. Bodley had been the Secretary of the Royal Commission, and so was in a position to speak with full knowledge of all the facts. He wrote :—

"On the completion of the list of distinguished names the first question which arose was the precedence to be given to Cardinal Manning. His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, had consented to become a member of it—an unprecedented honour accorded to a temporary commission—and naturally his Royal Highness was without delay consulted upon the interesting question. The Prince of Wales, I believe, pronounced the opinion, against which no objection was ever raised within the Commission (which included eminent men of all parties and of all shades of religious belief), that, subject to the assent of Lord Salisbury, Cardinal Manning's name should be placed on the Commission immediately after that of his Royal Highness. Lord Salisbury's assent was necessary, not so much on account of his high personal and political position, but because he was the foremost in rank of the remaining Commissioners, and therefore chiefly concerned in the matter."

Mr. Bodley then went on to deal with Mr. Gladstone's contention that Cardinal Manning had no temporal rank, and that the precedence allowed to him was purely by courtesy. Mr. Bodley said :—

" It would seem to be an act of presumption to attempt to join issue with Mr. Gladstone on any matter connected with official tradition, upon which his knowledge is pro-

found and unrivalled; but I would submit that on a Royal Commission the 'precedence accorded by courtesy' is unknown. The order of the names is decided by the most formal rules, and no courtesy rank is accorded to venerable years, to high personal character, or to conspicuous public services. If Mr. Gladstone had honoured the Royal Commission by taking a seat at its board, though combining all these qualifications in his person and though then filling the office of First Minister of the Crown, he would, I presume, have been merely placed after Lord Carrington and before Mr. Goschen, whose names followed one another on the Commission. Had Lord Beaconsfield been alive and consented to serve, he, in the same way, would have ranked after Lord Brownlow and before Lord Carrington. The reverence with which Cardinal Manning is regarded by his fellow-countrymen undoubtedly facilitated the concession of place to him by his distinguished colleagues; but when it was once granted, and confirmed under the Queen's sign-manual, it became no longer a matter of courtesy, but one of official precedence."

It may be added that even while this controversy was going on in the public Press, the official list issued from Marlborough House of the guests who had been invited to the Prince of Wales's garden-party on June 14th placed Cardinal Manning's name above those of all the Peers and immediately after the Archbishops of the Established Church. The question was not again mooted in public in Cardinal Manning's time.

When Herbert Vaughan became Cardinal, for some years at public meetings or dinners he was usually allowed the precedence which had been accorded to his predecessor. Towards the end of 1896, however, his right to take precedence even of Suffragan Bishops of the Established Church was formally challenged. The following letter from the then Bishop of Stepney speaks for itself:—

"*December* 10*th*, 1896.

"DEAR CARDINAL VAUGHAN,—I am glad to see from the *Times* that you are out again. As we may meet at the Guildhall next Monday (Hospital Sunday Fund), let me make an explanation on a matter which is personally small, but in other respects has importance. When we met at the People's Palace in the summer I found that it had been arranged that I should receive the Prince and Princess of Wales, but I had the pleasure of informing your Eminence that we had placed a chair on the platform for you above mine. This led to some inquiry by secular authorities. As the result, I was informed by the Archbishop of Canterbury that all Bishops appointed to English Sees, whether diocesan or suffragan, under Letters Patent of the Crown, have precedence in England in respect of other ecclesiastics; and the Archbishop told me that I must observe this on public occasions. I make this explanation in order that you may not regard my future course as fitful and inconsistent with that which I so gladly took on the occasion referred to, and should on all personal grounds so gladly take again.

"Your Eminence's very faithfully,

"G. F. STEPNEY."

It may be admitted that if the thing had to be done, it could hardly have been done more considerately. To Cardinal Vaughan anything like controversy on such a subject was intensely distasteful. He had no difficulty in entering into and appreciating the point of view from which the Bishop's letter was written; but the rank of Cardinal in this country is so absolutely *sui generis* that he had hoped its right of precedence might continue to be acknowledged without offence to any one. A Cardinal may count as a stranger in London to-day; and yet what associations his title carries with it! The very words "My Lord Cardinal" have their own indestructible place in English literature, as well as in English history. As long

as the names of Langton, Beaufort, and Wolsey are remembered, the style and title of a Roman Cardinal must remain familiar to our countrymen. The single fact that seven Cardinals have held the Great Seal of England is significant of the part which the Princes of the Church have played in the past of the nation. Cardinal Vaughan replied to the Bishop of Stepney as follows :—

"ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, *11th December*, 1896.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have an engagement that must hinder my being at the Guildhall on Monday. But I must thank you most cordially for your great delicacy and courtesy in writing to me as you have done on the subject of precedence. I can assure you that, like yourself, I have no personal feeling in such matters. But apart from this I cannot but think that the late Archbishop, to whom you refer, must have been thinking of precedence among Bishops, and that he could not have meant to say that the historical and universally recognised rank of a Cardinal is below that of a Bishop.

"I am quite sure that your Lordship will appreciate the fact that our Catholic fellow-subjects, who number nearly ten millions in the British Empire, would feel it most keenly were a Cardinal to be received in future with less recognition in England than in the other countries of Christendom. But I do not write to argue the matter, but simply to thank you heartily for your great personal courtesy and kindness.

"Believe me to be, my dear Lord,

"Yours faithfully,

"HERBERT CARD. VAUGHAN."

The Bishop's answer runs thus :—

"*11th December*, 1896.

"DEAR CARDINAL VAUGHAN,—Let me thank you earnestly for your kind and welcome letter. I, too, do not argue the matter ; indeed, it would be unseemly in me to do so. There is a very strong feeling on the subject in

England adverse to the view so naturally expressed by your Eminence. Historical associations, especially of the times before the sixteenth century, appeal to my personal sense in an almost abnormal degree. But the feeling to which I have referred is a serious modern fact; and I hear so much of it that I cannot join in the proposition which you so pleasantly suggest.

"Your Eminence's very faithfully,

"G. F. STEPNEY."

As Herbert Vaughan fully recognised that any precedence granted to him as Cardinal in this country could be the result only of spontaneous courtesy and good feeling, he felt that argument on the question would be quite out of place. Yet had he made no protest it might have seemed that the loss of the precedence formerly allowed was due to his indifference or default. But while he regretted the apparent slight to his rank as a Prince of the Church, he felt that the action of the Archbishop of Canterbury was very natural under the circumstances. A prolonged controversy such as that as to the validity of Anglican Orders was bound to have incidental consequences, and certainly the moment was not a favourable one for putting forward claims which could not be sustained in law. He hoped that the precedent set in the case of Cardinal Manning might again prevail, by universal consent, in some happier time.

CHAPTER X

THE BUILDING OF WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL

THE project of building a Cathedral in Westminster had been before the Catholic body for many years before Herbert Vaughan came to London. It had been more or less vaguely mooted in Cardinal Wiseman's time, and at his death it was decided that a Metropolitan Cathedral should be his permanent memorial. A little later, in May, 1865, Cardinal Manning, then Archbishop-Designate, presided at a public meeting called to approve and ratify the scheme. A subscription list was opened and trustees and treasurers for the fund were appointed. In his address to the meeting Cardinal Manning spoke of the enterprise as being not only a work of affection towards his predecessor, but also a work which was absolutely needed for the archdiocese and for the Catholic Church in this country. "The whole project," he added, "was in accordance with his wishes, with every suggestion of his public duty, with every affection of his heart towards the greatest and best friend he had ever had in his life; and his earnest desire was to further its success in every possible way. He gladly, therefore, took up the great burden of labouring for the rest of his life to carry out what had been decided.

"Fifteen years had passed since the restoration of the Hierarchy in England. Many of the Suffragan Sees were

already provided with Cathedrals, while the Metropolitan See of Westminster had only a Pro-Cathedral. The See of Westminster needed a Cathedral proportionate to the chief diocese of the Catholic Church in England, and to the chief city of the British Empire; and to raise such a Cathedral, the Catholics of England, in gratitude for the signal graces and blessing they had received, ought to make a generous effort." Yet, in accepting the heavy burden of responsibility and labour which he had been asked to take upon himself, he did so on one condition. He said publicly at the meeting that, before he could lay a stone upon a stone, the foundations of the spiritual Church in the diocese must be completely laid. By this he meant chiefly that the many thousands of poor Catholic children in the diocese—especially those whose faith was in the greatest danger through their being in non-Catholic workhouses, industrial and reformatory schools—must be spiritually provided for; and that to this most urgent spiritual need all precedence must be given.

The first difficulty was to find a site. For many months it seemed a difficulty which could not be overcome. It was not until two years later that an opportunity presented itself of securing a piece of land which was even worth considering for such a purpose. In the autumn of 1867 there came into the market a plot of land in Carlisle Place, Westminster, which was 488 feet in length, but only 85 in its greatest width. The price asked was £16,500. The plot was inconveniently narrow, but, as there seemed no alternative, it was bought. Shortly afterwards Mr. Henry Clutton designed a Cathedral which, while of great length, was only about 70 feet in width. But before any decisive steps were taken an

adjoining piece of freehold land on the other side of Carlisle Place was advertised for sale. It was 430 feet by 108 feet, and as the roadway which separated it from the land already in the possession of the Cardinal had never been opened to the public, the owner of both plots would be able to unite them and be entitled to build upon the road itself. Cardinal Manning took counsel with a few friends and then offered the price that was asked—£20,000. Of the price of the two purchases, £36,000, only £14,000 was paid in cash—£10,000 on the first and £4,000 on the second; the balance remained on mortgage and carried interest which came to about £1,000 per annum. Mr. Henry Clutton then set to work on new designs suited to the new site, which now extended to two acres and a third. But though sufficient in area the new site was still very inconvenient in shape. The land first purchased extended beyond the second plot by about 130 feet. A year or two later the "Guards' Institute," the great structure afterwards for so many years known as Archbishop's House, and situated at the south side of the Cathedral site, was offered for sale. Cardinal Manning bought it with his own money as a temporary residence. He lived there until his death but always had the consolation of knowing that his purchase had greatly improved the land intended for the Cathedral, for, if necessary, a new house could at any time be built at the other side of the site. Again Mr. Clutton redrew his design and adapted the scale to the new opportunity. He presented Cardinal Manning with plans for a vast Cathedral, something after the style of the Dom of Cologne, a huge mass of masonry 450 feet in length and 250 feet in width. It would have been just as useful to plan the building of a new Tower of Babel. But Mr.

Clutton had been very kind, and generous as well, and there were no funds, and so Cardinal Manning approved the designs. He had done his part and safeguarded the future by securing the site.

In the autumn of 1882, however, there came to Cardinal Manning a new hope, and a hope that he might live to see a Cathedral at Westminster, not only begun, but finished. He received assurances which led him to believe that a wealthy gentleman, who was not himself a Catholic, was yet ready to come forward and build a Catholic Cathedral at his own sole cost. It was all a beautiful dream, but it lasted over a year, and played an important part in the story of Westminster Cathedral as it stands to-day. In December, 1882, the *Tablet* announced that this anonymous benefactor had selected as a model "the splendid Votive Church in Vienna which was built to commemorate the escape of the Emperor of Austria from assassination in 1853." The name of the munificent unknown was for the moment withheld. He was described as a man remarkable for his "unworldliness, simplicity, and detachment from riches." To help its readers to some idea as to what the new Cathedral would be like the *Tablet* thoughtfully provided them with a full-page illustration of the Votive Church in Vienna.

The prospect of having a Cathedral built for him in the immediate future had a wonderfully vivifying effect on Cardinal Manning. Early in 1883 he managed to free the site of the Cathedral from debt, and confidently looked forward to laying the foundation-stone before the year was out. It is true the Cathedral now proposed was smaller than that designed by Mr. Clutton, but then Mr. Clutton's Cathedral would probably have taken a century to build.

Everything seemed to go so satisfactorily that in July of the same year the journalist, recording the death of the well-known Austrian architect, Baron Heinrich von Ferstel, was able to add : " We understand that Baron Ferstel has left the plans for the new Cathedral at Westminster complete, and that his eldest son, who is also an architect, and had intended, if his father had lived, to come to reside in London and superintend the work, is prepared to carry out his father's designs." Fortune that year seemed to continue to shine on Cardinal Manning. The site he had bought—two and a half acres—was good, but it might be better. And now, when his heart was warm with the thought that the plans for his Cathedral were ready waiting in Vienna, came a sudden and wholly unexpected chance of acquiring an ideal site of four acres close at hand. Opposite his windows, and adjoining the land he had already purchased, stood the Middlesex County Prison of Tothill Fields. He now heard that the prison and its grounds were for sale.

Cardinal Manning at once called to his aid his legal and financial advisers, and in a very short time a small company, called the Westminster Land Company, was formed *ad hoc*. The Company bought the prison and its grounds for £115,000. The part of the property thus acquired by the Land Company which Cardinal Manning coveted for the Cathedral was assigned to him at the cost price of £55,000. In payment Cardinal Manning conveyed to the Company the old Cathedral site at a valuation of £35,000, and the balance (£20,000) he paid by money raised upon a mortgage upon the new site. The success of the transaction was complete, and the Land Company, after having disposed of the surplus land

at a handsome profit, dissolved in the autumn of 1886. Meanwhile the *Tablet*, in announcing the acquisition of the new site for the Cathedral, referred to Sir Tatton Sykes "as the man who was about to build the Cathedral," adding : " Its foundations are not likely to be laid before next year. The new site, when handed over by the proposed company in exchange for the present site, will be 500 feet in depth and 300 feet in width. Accordingly the plans of the Votive Church in Vienna, which is only 292 feet in length, will, we understand, be departed from, so as to render the Cathedral more spacious within, while, to meet the exigencies of our climate, it will be less minutely elaborate in external detail. The new site will have to be purchased from the proposed company in order that Sir Tatton Sykes' magnificent promise may be met by the provision of as fine a site as it would be possible to obtain in Westminster. The plans have been left complete by the late Baron Von Ferstel and are in the custody of the deceased architect's son in Vienna, whither, we understand, Sir Tatton Sykes is about to proceed. We can only wish prosperity and health and every blessing to this noble benefactor, and that he may live to see his splendid designs accomplished."

Cardinal Manning's gladness at the completion of the purchase breaks out in a letter to Herbert Vaughan dated February 23rd, 1884, thus : " We are now legal owners of the Prison land. I went over it yesterday—I can hardly believe that the Middlesex magistrates are out and the Catholic Church in. Now do not put that into the *Tablet*, or we shall be in a storm a week after."

It does not come within the scope of this biography to tell how Cardinal Manning was slowly undeceived

or to attempt to decide to what extent misunderstandings or a change of purpose led to the failure of his hope. It is enough to note here that it was that delusive hope which directly led to the purchase of the site occupied by the Westminster Cathedral to-day. To Cardinal Manning the disappointment was a bad one, for it came as that "worst of all the forms of disappointment, the disappointment which presents itself as final." He was too old ever to hope again, and for the rest of his life the question of the Cathedral was in abeyance.

With the coming of Herbert Vaughan a new chapter in the story of the Cathedral began. He came resolved to build at once. He was not content solemnly to lay a foundation-stone and then to slip the burden of building on to the shoulders of another generation. He was not thinking of posterity, nor of a Cathedral that would take a century to build. He wanted one that would be begun and made fit for service well within the ten years of active life he thought might yet be left to him. And he was so eager to begin, because he believed that the Catholic revival had reached a stage when a Metropolitan Cathedral had become a necessity if Catholic life in this country were to be allowed its free and full and natural development. He thought of a Cathedral primarily, perhaps, as a House of Prayer, but also in a very real sense as a living organism from which should radiate all sorts of spiritual influences. To use a phrase which was often on his lips during the last years of his life, he wanted "a live Cathedral." He wanted a Cathedral which should be the head and the heart of the life of the Church in England, and the vivifying centre of its spirit and worship. It was to be the home of a companionship of priests, the example

of whose lives should colour all the ideals and activities of the diocese. He thought of it as a Catholic arsenal from which lecturers and missioners should go forth to preach and evangelise, as the meeting-ground for sodalities and confraternities and workmen's guilds, as a school of sacred eloquence, and as a place where the perfection of Church music should be heard. He hoped that its library would be a help to ecclesiastical students all over the country, and that its manner of conducting the ceremonies of the Church would serve as a model and as an example to every one. Above all, this hard, practical Lancashire Bishop thought of his unborn Cathedral as providing a splendid and fitting shrine for the Sacred Liturgy.

That was nearer to his heart than anything else. He looked at the Catholic lands abroad, and thought of the daily round of public prayer and praise and sacrifice which prevailed in the English Cathedrals before the Reformation, and then longed with a great longing to bring back the daily singing of the Liturgy to Westminster. He knew that in practice the singing of the Divine Office had ceased to be part of the public worship of the Church in this country, and that nobody missed it. The average Catholic never gave it a thought, or was aware that anything was wanting. To quote his own words: "Here and there, indeed, a Convent or a Monastery, at a safe distance from the busy haunts of men, has said or sung Divine Office in their domestic choir; but so completely has the idea of the public celebration of the Divine Office, as the normal form of public worship prescribed by the Church, faded from men's minds, that even Catholics have come to consider it as a curious survival, and the peculiar heritage of ancient orders of monks or nuns."

Abbot Gasquet confirmed this statement when, in special reference to the Cathedral, he wrote: "Since the days of the persecution of Catholics in England passed away, circumstances have combined to render the public celebration of the full Liturgy impossible, and very seldom now have the Faithful an opportunity of attending more than the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice and the occasional singing of Vespers and Compline. Of the greater offices of Matins and Lauds, of the most beautiful morning prayer of the Church—Prime—the consecration of daily work, to say nothing of the lesser hours of Tierce, Sext, None—the recurrence of which, as St. John Chrysostom says, perpetually recalls us to the throne of God—the Catholics of England of to-day, as a rule, know absolutely nothing. Indeed, so completely has the notion that the Christian Church has any such official public service of praise and thanksgiving passed away, that some now gravely draw a sharp distinction between Liturgical services, which they treat as private and as intended for monks and ecclesiastics, and Congregational services, which they regard as intended for the people."

Here was a point upon which the work of the Reformation had yet to be undone. The Cardinal saw, in his still unbuilt Cathedral, an opportunity for in this respect completing the work begun by the restoration of the Hierarchy. To him, therefore, the Cathedral was at once the symbol of the passing away of the sort of stunted and maimed life which was the heritage of the Persecution, and the means of bringing back the proper presentment of the Sacred Liturgy as the daily and public worship of the Church. And by the proper presentment he meant a presentment that should be at once integral and reve-

rent. At no time, and under the stress of no difficulty, would he ever listen to any talk of compromise as to the wholeness of the Liturgy, and he regarded any suggestions to mutilate or abbreviate the Divine Office as treason to the Cathedral. His busy, intensely practical mind was for ever engaged with new schemes for getting the utmost service and value out of the Cathedral, but first and last he prized it most because it made possible the most perfect and devotional rendering of the great Prayer of the Church. As always, the supernatural came first, and his delight as he saw the walls of the Cathedral rising was chiefly because he seemed to see the dawn of the day when the Divine Praises should be sung there unceasingly from year's end to year's end, "*a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile Nomen Domini.*"

But Herbert Vaughan had no illusions as to the difficulties of the task that was before him. He had so often been told that the age of Cathedrals was over, and that it would be impossible to get people to subscribe large sums for what they would regard almost as ostentation and waste. Even if he were successful, he would be thought to have robbed the poor, and to have starved more practical charities. Sometimes the objections took the plausible form of admitting that the building of a great Metropolitan Cathedral was a thing greatly to be desired, but then came the question, If means were admittedly limited and it was necessarily a case of choosing between one good work and another, might not the Cathedral be postponed until more pressing needs had been satisfied? Up to a certain point and under certain conditions the Cardinal would readily have admitted the validity of this objection, but he felt that

it had been urged long enough and that there were some who would press it indefinitely. He was well aware that one of the strongest tendencies of the time was to treat the Service of Man as though it were an all-sufficient substitute for the Service of God, and to identify religion exclusively with the corporal works of mercy. He knew the extent to which the literature of the period is saturated with the feeling that practical piety should express itself in terms of sanitation, and that to spend on a Cathedral money which might be used to provide almshouses for the poor was the sheerest waste. Clearly to people holding these views, to build to the glory of God, to spend vast sums for the beauty of His House, must indeed seem a foolishness and a vain thing. It was because the building of a magnificent Cathedral was so alien to much of the thought around him and, in some sense, a rebuke to those who would narrow down what he meant by religion, until it was indistinguishable from philanthropy, that Herbert Vaughan came to value Westminster Cathedral as a public profession of faith on the part of his people. He felt that the sum of the sacrifices represented by the money to be spent to the glory of God on the new Cathedral would be in some sort the measure of the faith of the Catholics of England, the test of their belief in the reality and value of a purely spiritual good—of a gain that had no relation to this world.

But the most serious opposition the Cardinal had to encounter was one that lay rooted in a doubt. People were sceptical as to his ability to finish what he was about to begin. If it had been possible fourteen years ago to foresee what has happened since, to imagine the Cathedral as it was, for instance, during the time of

the great functions of the Eucharistic Congress of 1908, Cardinal Vaughan's way would have been made very smooth for him. Such prevision was quite wanting to the majority of those to whom he had to make his appeal. They thought of some enormous fabric which it would take generations to build, and which meanwhile would be a perpetual drain upon the resources of the Catholic body. It was so easy to count up examples of churches that had been begun in hope and haste, and then suspended for years for want of funds. Was it wise to pour money down a drain, for the sake of a good which no one living should see? And yet when it was known that Herbert Vaughan had nothing of this sort in view, that, on the contrary, he was minded to see his Cathedral roofed in and fit for service within five years, there seemed the oddest revulsion of feeling. The very people who before were inclined to protest against the folly of beginning a work of which no man could see the end, now asked each other whether anything could be more unsatisfactory than a jerry-built Cathedral, run up to suit a Cardinal in a hurry? Looking at the world through a haze of mediævalism, some of the most confident of his critics were now inclined to deprecate excessive haste, and to wonder aloud, "What are we that we should presume to build a Cathedral in a few years when our devout forefathers sometimes took a century?"

The Cardinal's large patience was equal to every strain upon it. His supreme care was to get a Cathedral well begun and safely finished. And so he suffered captious critics gladly. He armed himself at all points to meet all objections, and spared no personal pains to conciliate opposition, or to explain away difficulties. He pointed

out that perhaps it would be a mistake to offer special reverence to what were, after all, only the defects and limitations in the achievements of our ancestors, and urged that modern conditions had made speed compatible with the most solid workmanship. He pointed out that, given the requisite amount of capital, there is no more difficulty in building a Cathedral in a couple of years than in erecting a single pier of it, or a single chapel. It was only a case of multiplying the means, the men, and the materials. He instanced the case of the Imperial Institute, which had been completed in three or four years. At other times he would urge that, even if it were relevant, it would not be true to say that the old Cathedrals of the land had always taken many years to build. Sometimes, no doubt, want of funds, or the distracted state of the times, or bickerings or jealousies among the ecclesiastical authorities, caused the work to be interrupted and to drag through generations; but in other cases, in spite of poor mechanical appliances, the great Cathedrals were built with astonishing rapidity. Salisbury Cathedral was built within less than thirty years, the Norman part of Durham in less than twenty, and the greater part of Canterbury from the transept to the end of the choir in a single decade. No doubt there were later additions and alterations in all these cases, but they suffice to show that when circumstances were favourable our Catholic forefathers, in spite of their rude methods, could build with considerable speed. If we looked overseas there was the great Church of Sancta Sophia, built in the same style as the Westminster Cathedral and completed in five years. It is true that Justinian employed ten thousand workmen—but how many of them would he not have exchanged for

one modern engineer? In conclusion the Cardinal would insist that we are not conditioned as our forefathers were; and that if the new Cathedral were to drag on in the building for twenty or thirty years, very surely the delays would not be due to any zeal for thoroughness of workmanship, or because we were minded to build for eternity, but because we were too poor-spirited, too lukewarm, and too indifferent to subscribe the necessary funds.

But the fundamental difference between the Cardinal and those who, for want of a better term, I may speak of as his opponents, in the matter of the Cathedral, was, that while they for the most part were profoundly sceptical of his ability to collect the enormous sum required, he had no doubts at all. His confidence in God represented the dynamics of Herbert Vaughan's life, and the secret of his success. He was satisfied that to build a Cathedral in Westminster would be to promote the glory of God and the cause of His Kingdom on earth. If God wished the Cathedral to be built surely the money would be forthcoming. If He did not wish it, why should any one want it to be built? And in that case there would be a public humiliation which might be made very profitable for a Cardinal's soul. I can remember now, as if it were yesterday, how sometimes, in those first years of his stay in London, some chance remark would often leave me in silent amazement at his absolute confidence that all the money he wanted would be given to him. Of all his anxieties and perplexities about the Cathedral certainly that about the money to finish it with was the least.

There was another point upon which the Cardinal acted with the decision of a man who knows neither

doubts nor hesitations. He knew exactly what he wanted a Cathedral for. In a notebook which he kept towards the end of his life I found a newspaper cutting with the words, "Just my views," written beneath. The views in question governed his conduct when preparing to build Westminster Cathedral, and may be quoted here: "It has been well said that churches are buildings, not merely *in* which, but *with* which, we worship God. But, after all, the primary purpose of every building, which is not a mere monument, is that something should be done inside it. Thus every church is essentially a place of worship. And a cathedral or parish church is, moreover, a place of assembly and instruction and a place of common prayer. To these inward needs the outward form should be subordinated; and while the utmost beauty of construction that is consistent with their full satisfaction should (so far as material resources allow) by all means be aimed at, it would clearly be an inversion of the right order of things to allow the secondary purpose of a church, or a building to worship God *with*, to dominate its primary purpose as a building to worship God *in*."

The Cardinal wanted a Cathedral for congregational use, and therefore wanted a great open space, capable of accommodating a large number of people in sight of and in front of the altar. That requirement seemed to rule out at once styles of architecture fitted mainly for monastic uses. He thought Gothic architecture well adapted for thinly populated districts—for mediæval York or Durham or Salisbury, but less fitted for such imperial cities as Rome or Constantinople or London. What was in his mind will be understood at once by any one who contrasts Westminster Cathedral with the neighbouring

Abbey, considered simply as a meeting-place for a multitude, where a large party of people can follow a service at the altar, or listen to a sermon from the pulpit. Familiar as he was with every stone in Rome, his thoughts went out naturally to the old Basilicas—to the splendid spaces of Sta. Maria Maggiore or S. Paolo *fuori le mura*. These were beautiful, and yet how admirably adapted to serve the primary purpose for which the Cathedral at Westminster was wanted! In a private circular sent out in July, 1894, to a number of persons who were likely to be interested in the project Cardinal Vaughan said: "Our actual need is a Cathedral that shall be large enough for carrying out with splendour the Liturgy of the Church and for accommodating (without charge) large audiences in front of the pulpit. But it need not be such a building as would drain and exhaust all our resources to erect it, starving and stunting growth in all other directions. Nor, when our need is actual and urgent, should it be of such costliness as to render its erection impossible for generations to come. It is proposed, therefore, to utilise without delay, in the following manner, the site acquired in Westminster by the late Cardinal: (1) To build the shell of a Cathedral that shall be spacious enough for all practical purposes, viz., that shall be between 300 and 400 feet long, by 120 or 130 feet wide, with a nave 60 feet wide by 240 feet long, being the proportion of four cubes. (2) To adopt the ancient Basilica style, taking Constantine's Church of St. Peter in Rome as the model, without, however, servilely following its defects. The advantages of this are: that the Cathedral will not appear as an attempt to rival the neighbouring Abbey or any other large church in London; that the shell of the

building can be erected at less cost than if any other style were adopted ; that the only external ornament would be upon the façade, such decorations as may be added by the present and future generations being concentrated upon the interior—no unwise arrangement surely, taking into consideration the London climate and the surroundings of the actual site. Nor will the reproduction in Westminster of the main features of the ancient Roman Basilica of St. Peter, as they were reproduced in Canterbury of old, be without devotional, artistic, and historic interest to the general public and to the Church at large."

The choice of Constantine's Basilica as the model of his proposed Cathedral in Westminster commended itself to Herbert Vaughan, not only because its style fulfilled his main condition, but because it was dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles, while its associations with Canterbury seemed to recall a happy link between England and Rome. Having thus settled the plan of the Cathedral, the Cardinal then began to think of selecting an architect. Here was a question about which he felt diffident and uncertain. He was anxious for advice, and sought it from all sorts and conditions of men. He knew a great deal about architecture in a practical way. It would be impossible, for instance, to wish for a more delightful or instructive guide to the ancient churches of Rome. He had their history at his fingers' ends and he was familiar with the literature of the subject, but he recognised his own artistic limitations, and distrusted his own judgment in matters of taste. His first idea was to invite public competition and allow a jury of experts to decide—subject, of course, to certain controlling conditions as to what the Cathedral was to be like. But as he pressed

his inquiries he was struck by the frequency with which the name of Mr. John F. Bentley was recommended. It often happened that when some other architect was being suggested Bentley would be mentioned as that of an alternative man. He noted, too, that among his fellow-architects Bentley's name was always mentioned with special respect. The Cardinal had known Mr. Bentley for years and admired his work, and knew him for a man after his own heart. But now he found that it was a settled principle with Bentley never to enter for any public competition, and that he was unwilling to make any exception, even though the opportunity of his life were at stake. To Bentley the rivalry of a competition was intensely distasteful—he had no heart to seize a good which came to him only as a triumph over others. On the other hand, there was something in the idea of an open competition which appealed very strongly to the Cardinal's sense of fairness, and he was for a long time very unwilling to abandon it. The question seems to have been in the balance until the last moment. In a letter to his private secretary, Mr. Austin Oates, dated July 5th, 1894, he says: "The Finance Board and others want me to appoint the architect without competition—in that case I shall choose Bentley, I think. But there will be many heart-burnings." Ten days later he says he has considered the question of a competition very anxiously and carefully. "The ultimate result is to appoint Bentley—all agree on Bentley."

It has been hastily said that Bentley was a stranger to the architectural style in which he now proposed to build, and that he hurriedly went abroad "to get it all up." As a matter of fact, in revisiting some of the great

examples of Byzantine architecture he was but returning to an early love. He had always had a profound admiration for Byzantine art, and in his younger days had designed a church in that style. The work of his life had necessarily been on other lines, and he would undoubtedly have preferred to design a Gothic building, but he gradually came to acquiesce in the Cardinal's decision and to think that he was in the right. Among the Catholic public generally the idea of a Byzantine Cathedral in London was at the outset very unpopular. They thought it incongruous and un-English. Comparatively few had ever seen a Byzantine church and many condemned the style as "Italian," and therefore likely to give point to the gibe about the "Italian Mission." The Cardinal was indefatigable in his efforts to meet misrepresentations and clear up misunderstandings. He pointed out that though Byzantine churches may be found anywhere between Sicily and the Euphrates—in France and in Germany, in Dalmatia and by the Bosphorus—almost the only examples in Italy are those of San Marco, in Venice, and San Vitale, in Ravenna, both built by Easterns. Then those who feared that too much money would be spent upon the Cathedral, or that it would remain an architectural white elephant, unfinished for want of funds, were reminded that economy in initial expenditure is one of the advantages which the Byzantine style has over Gothic. He was never tired of pointing out that you cannot build the shell of a Gothic church and leave the ornamentation to be done as time and opportunity allow—you must finish as you go: columns must be clustered, arches and ribs must be moulded, tracery and general details must be worked at the time, and when the shell is finished the work is almost

done. So that, even if it had not been so desirable to avoid any appearance of rivalry with Westminster Abbey, the question of cost would have weighed heavily against a Gothic design. A Gothic building of the same size would certainly have cost two or three times as much.

Meanwhile, the Cardinal had not waited for the appointment of an architect—he had been busily at work for some months. The possession of a mortgaged site would hardly in itself have justified the appointment of Mr. Bentley. The letter of July 5th, already referred to, contains the following allusion to the results of his vigorous begging: "The Cathedral is doing fairly well, promises are nearer £50,000 than £45,000." It was a work into which he threw himself heart and soul, and with no reservations. He knew that if the enormous sum required were to be got, it must come through him, and in answer to his personal and direct appeal. He wrote hundreds of letters with his own hand, and paid scores of calls. It was a work that was intensely distasteful to him; he did it without flinching. It brought him plenty of mortifications and rebuffs. But he would fortify himself, when at times the shame or the shrinking of the beggar was strong upon him, by repeating the words, "I must have the courage of my cause." It used to be said that very often his letters and personal solicitations showed want of tact. It is likely enough that he blundered sometimes. But if you ask a man to give you £1,000 it is always possible that he may think it would have been more tactful if you had been silent. Happily, whatever the humiliations of those days, they also brought great consolations. People met him with extraordinary kindness and contributed with extraordinary generosity. Among his papers is a little

scrapbook containing a fragmentary record of the letters he wrote in the interests of the Cathedral. Against each name is a mark showing whether the person in question had promised a donation or refused, or given a half-promise, or failed to give any answer at all. The great majority gave, in sums varying from the £10,000 given by the Duke of Norfolk to £5; some made half-promises; others solved the difficulty by not replying, but very few indeed refused. The total sum noted as promised in this undated record came to over £75,000. Certainly among the assets of the Catholic Church in this country during the closing years of the nineteenth century the personality of the Cardinal Archbishop was not the least important.

When Mr. Bentley returned from his tour of study among the Byzantine churches of the Continent, he worked with astonishing swiftness, so that the foundation-stone of the Cathedral was ready to be laid within twelve months of the day on which he received his appointment as its architect. The following is Bentley's own description at the time of the accepted design:

"The arrangement is not that of an Eastern church of the Justinian period, but rather an example of what might have been unfolded, had not the decadence of the Roman Empire terminated the growth of congregational requirements in the East. From a glance at the plan of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Constantinople, or S. Vitale, Ravenna, both of about the same age, it is evident that they were arranged from a liturgical, rather than a congregational, standard, while the Church of S. Marco, Venice, erected nearly four centuries later, indicates a marked advance in the latter direction, showing clearly the course the development was taking.

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On approaching the precincts of the Cathedral from Victoria Street, at the angle of the site will be seen the Campanile rising to an altitude of some 300 feet; and alongside the Western entrance included in a composition extending 65 feet and embracing in the great arch of the central portion three entrance doors, the outer ones for the laity and the middle for the Archbishop and clergy. These entrances open into porches, to be attached to a narthex running the entire width of the church, terminating at one end with an entrance from the side street, and with a Baptistery at the other, and in front, opening into the nave. The nave, 60 feet wide and 234 feet long from the insides of the great door, will be divided into three bays of 67 feet each, covered with saucer-shaped domes, rising out of pendentives that will spring imperceptibly from the sustaining arches resting on enormous piers. Each bay will be subdivided by another pier, and again by columns, forming an arcaded aisle with a gallery over. Laterally to the aisles are four chapels on either side. From the last bay transepts, measuring 152 feet across, will project, in which additional entrances will be provided. Eastward, and opening into the transepts, the Chapels of the Blessed Sacrament and of Our Lady will be placed, each with aisles to the north and south. The inner aisles will connect these chapels with the Sanctuary, and the outer will be passage-ways from the body of the church to the Sacristies. The Sanctuary from the High Altar to the nave will be 65 feet by a width of 50 feet; and the raised Choir beyond, terminating in an apse, will extend the length 49 feet more. The High Altar, under the baldacchino, will be reached by thirteen steps above the level of the nave floor."

I have to thank the Rev. Herbert Lucas, S.J., for the following account of the reasons which led Bentley to abandon the idea of a central dome: "Mr. Bentley seriously considered the question whether or no his Cathedral should have a great dome, comparable—in proportion—to that of St. Peter's; and he deliberately decided in the negative. His decision was determined, not merely by the conflict which a great dome invariably introduces between the claims of 'form for form's sake' and the practical exigencies of congregatioual worship, but also by another consideration. A central dome whose space is greater than the width of the nave, of necessity requires an open transept. And this Mr. Bentley would not have. Profoundly convinced of the capabilities of the Byzantine system of construction, he was not less impressed by the wisdom shown by the early Roman church-builders in designing their Basilicas. He was not alone in perceiving that one of the most characteristic and admirable features of the true Roman Basilica is that all the lines of the perspective converge upon the altar, which, surmounted by its civory or baldacchino and framed, as it were, in the terminal apse, was plainly intended to be the focus of sight as well as of worship. Now this perspective effect is to a great extent destroyed by an open transept, and he would have none of it. Nor was he content merely to screen off the transept, as in old St. Peter's and in San Paolo *fuori*, by means of a projecting wall, but, like the architect of Pisa, he would carry his colonnade and his gallery across the transept openings, would place his sanctuary one bay further towards the west end, would make it narrower, by some 10 feet, than the nave, and would shut it in on either hand by a double range of

superpoised columns. It would be an *aditum*, a *sacrarium*, a holy place, open indeed to the view of the faithful in the nave, but enclosed on either hand; visible to the congregation of worshippers, but not the open centre of a vast crowd. Perhaps it is not too much to say that old St. Peter's came nearer to his ideal of what a Christian church should be than the monument of Renaissance architecture raised by the genius of Bramante or Michael Angelo. But old St. Peter's, like every other Roman Basilica, was constructively imperfect and insecure by reason of its timber roof; and the synthesis which Bentley has so successfully effected at Westminster is a combination of the idea of a Roman Basilica with the constructive improvements introduced by the Byzantine architects."

The foundation-stone was laid on the 29th of June, 1895, by Cardinal Vaughan, assisted by Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh, in the presence of a large gathering of clergy and laity. At the lunch which followed the ceremony Cardinal Vaughan spoke of the great pleasure with which he had heard that the Benedictine monks were ready to respond to his call and to take charge of the daily singing of the Sacred Liturgy in the Cathedral. Then he touched upon the question of funds. He said that at one time he had thought with anxiety of the large sum required. He put the whole matter in the hands of St. Joseph. "From the moment he did so he found his task made quite easy; he wrote a few very simple letters, calling the attention of a certain number of his friends to the proposal. Without any persuasion on his part, only using the simplest words in his power, those friends at once, of their own accord, responded with all the generosity which had brought about the state of things

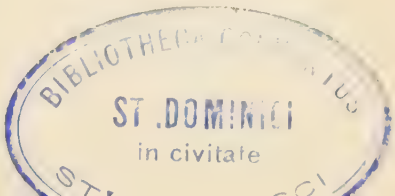
concerning the Cathedral which had been witnessed that day, when the promoters had in their hands £75,000 towards the building."

It may be safely said that that was a time of great happiness to Cardinal Vaughan. He knew that his dream was certain now to be realised. And surely it was no mean achievement to have secured for English Catholicism in so short a time a Cathedral of which generations unborn shall be proud. The Cardinal had the dimensions of all the great English Cathedrals and of many abroad at his fingers' ends, and knew that in scale and in stateliness his own might compare with the best. Something of the gladness and exultation he felt as he watched the walls slowly rising is reflected in an article written under his inspiration: "The style of the new Cathedral happily makes any invidious comparison with Westminster Abbey out of the question. Westminster Cathedral will join hands with an older time. The latest of the great ecclesiastical structures of the world, it will recall the earliest phase of directly Christian art. But though we cannot compare the new Cathedral with any building of the same type in this country, we may usefully contrast its general scale and dimensions with some of the historic fanes which are still the glories and the memorials of English Catholicism. In total area the Westminster Cathedral is upon much the same scale as Durham and Salisbury; and of course far larger than Hereford or Lichfield or Gloucester or Worcester or Peterborough. But in its impression of vastness it is likely to surpass even the few old Cathedrals which exceed it in actual superficial area. The length of the nave is exactly that of Durham. Those who recall the magnificent proportions

of the great northern Cathedral will be able to form some adequate idea of the scale of the building which is now rising at Westminster. Only with this thought of Durham in his mind, let the reader also reflect that while at Durham the width of nave and aisles together is 82 feet, the width of nave and aisles at Westminster will be 150 feet. The length of the nave of the new Cathedral will be exceeded only in the cases of York, Winchester, Ely, and Salisbury. In width it far exceeds them all, being 27 feet wider even than the great span of York. If we consider the total area of the nave, we shall find that not one of the old Cathedrals can compare with the new one. The total area will be twice that of the neighbouring Abbey, and more than twice those of Salisbury, Worcester, and Gloucester, and three times the size of those of Lichfield and Hereford. If we take the span of nave and aisles together, again we shall find nothing among the old Cathedrals to compare with the scale of the new. York measures 110, Lincoln 78, the Abbey 68, Ely 74, Salisbury 73, Lichfield 66, and the new Cathedral 150. If we are to consider height, we find nothing so near to Heaven as our own Cathedral shall be. Its height of 109 feet may compare with the 93 of York, the 81 of Lincoln, the 105 of the Abbey, the 81 of Durham, or the 61 of Gloucester. As far as scale goes, at any rate, the last of the English Cathedrals may well challenge comparison with anything that has gone before."

From the day of the laying of the foundation-stone in June, 1895, the work of the Cathedral went on with unresting haste until it was opened for the first time for public service eight years later in the presence of the dead body of its founder. The Cardinal himself was in-

defatigable in his public and private appeals for help to the end. He sent others to seek aid across the seas. Mgr. Fenton, now Bishop of Amycla, went to Italy and brought back a gift of £1,000 from Leo XIII. The Cardinal's brother, the late Father Kenelm Vaughan, was sent to beg in Spain and then in Spanish America. After years of wandering he brought back a sum of over £18,000 for the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. Then the people were invited to build bits of the Cathedral, to defray the cost of a chapel, or a marble column, to pay for ten thousand bricks, or, if that were too much, for a hundred bricks or even for ten bricks, or a single stone. The building was delayed at times through one difficulty or another, but never once for want of money. At the beginning of 1898 foundations, firm as the everlasting hills, had been laid and the walls had risen to a height of 26 feet, and £48,000 was in hand. A year later, in February, 1899, the outer walls stood at 85 feet above the pavement and the arches for the domes were being turned. But the progress had not been as rapid as had been hoped. There was great difficulty with the bricklayers. To men accustomed to running up the ordinary modern house or blocks of flats the massive thickness of the Cathedral walls presented itself as an unpleasant surprise. Instead of being able to work comfortably in an upright position and without stooping, they found themselves obliged to bend over, and even to kneel on the wall itself, to put the centre bricks in the right position. The result was that time after time whole gangs of men threw up the work with the remark that "they thought they had been engaged to do a building job and not to lay a bloomin' pavement." Nevertheless, ten million bricks had been laid and the walls of


ST. DOMINICI
in civitate

the Cathedral waited only for their crown of domes. At that time £90,000 had been collected and £7,000 remained in hand. Three months later, in May, the subscriptions had reached the noble total of £100,848. Before the end of 1899 the Church of St. Mary's, Moorfields, which, through the dwindling of the population in Central London, had become a church almost without a congregation, was sold for a large sum. After all local and personal claims had been met and a sum had been set aside for the erection of a smaller church, a considerable margin remained. After £20,000 had been applied to the redemption of the mortgage on the site of the Cathedral, a further sum of £48,000 was placed, with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, to the credit of the building fund.

During all his appeals of those years the Cardinal always insisted that if only the generation of Catholics he was addressing would provide the fabric of the Cathedral that sacrifice should suffice, and they should never be called upon to find money for its upkeep. There should be no church-door payments; no dress-circle or stalls for the rich, no free pews in which the poor should be penned. He calculated that of the site of four acres a strip could be let or sold for a sum which would provide a sufficient endowment for the permanent support of the clergy attached to the Cathedral and to provide a fund for repairs. There is no doubt that this prospect of finality contributed largely to the success of the Cardinal's appeals. With the opening of the new century Cardinal Vaughan's health began to fail visibly, and the work of the Cathedral became less rapid. Still it went on steadily, and before his death he had the

supreme satisfaction of seeing it roofed in, ready for public worship. In June, 1902, just a year before his death, the Cardinal issued his last appeal. At that time the building fund was exhausted and £16,000 was still wanted. The Cardinal recalled what had been achieved: "The shell of a spacious, massive, and imperishable Cathedral has been built upon a site absolutely free." It would be opened as soon as it was possible to give it over in fee simple to God by the liturgical act of consecration. But before it could be consecrated it must be free from debt—in other words, the giving of another £16,000 was an indispensable preliminary. The appeal ran on: "With confidence, therefore, I now invite Catholics to consummate the work which has so nearly reached completion. Of the founders—the record of whose Catholic faith will be sent down the centuries to be an example and encouragement to their children's children—some may be prepared, without further personal solicitation, to add to their past generosity. There may also be other persons both able and willing to inscribe their names upon the noble Roll of Founders. And there is, I doubt not, a multitude of men and women who, though not as Founders, will rejoice to bear a substantial part in completing a majestic Cathedral reared to the honour of the Most Precious Blood. Nor can it be necessary to add that the shillings and pence of the poor will be gratefully received, for the eyes of the Lord are upon the poor, and He blesses the widow's mite. It is no longer the question of the morning, 'Is it prudent to set out upon the gigantic task of building in Westminster a worthy Metropolitan Cathedral?' You have answered the question. You have built the Cathe-

dral. The question now is, 'Shall a last effort, a last sacrifice, be made to complete and consecrate it to God before the night fall?' Founders and friends must decide. It is needless to labour an appeal with a string of motives that are all too obvious. Suffice it to say that this is my final appeal for the Building Fund—that there will be no further call upon you for the Building Fund in our lifetime, if the sum now asked for be obtained."

The tired Cardinal knew that his work was nearly over and that the last appeal was made; but during the months of sickness and suffering that followed he had the gladness of knowing that the money he asked for continued to come and that the finishing of the Cathedral was assured.

The Cardinal and his architect were so fundamentally at one as to the purpose which a Cathedral should serve that anything like serious and permanent disagreement between them was out of the question. But there was friction at times. The Cardinal was ready to spend to the last farthing, but no further. He was resolved not to leave his successor a Cathedral in debt. In his Salford days he would have left something to chance, but in his last years at Westminster he felt that the margin for uncertainties, and therefore of hope, was so narrowed down that he was unwilling to count on more than a few months ahead. This made him anxious to be reassured at short intervals that the building was not outrunning the funds in hand. When Bentley's calculations as to the cost of the work actually done did not come as promptly as he wished, the request for information was repeated and there was sometimes impatience on both sides. Then again it is

difficult to imagine any sphere of life in which Herbert Vaughan would have played successfully the rôle of sleeping partner. He had promised, and in all sincerity, to let Bentley have a free hand, but an architect would surely be glad of suggestions! So the suggestions came, and with disconcerting frequency. A sample of many, the following letter may serve to show what Bentley had sometimes to endure:—

"Collegio Inglese, Rome,
"*January 1st*, 1901.

"Dear Mr. Bentley,—(1) Before any inscription is worked please to let me have an exact copy of what is proposed, so that I may submit it to experts in Rome. (2) I have noticed the effect of strong golden glazing in churches in Italy and Paris, and see how warm and comfortable they make the parts affected by this summer and sunny light. I hope you will try it in the dome—and not with roundlets, which, not being of even surface, collect dirt and become dark. A plain, strong, golden glass in the dome will give the right effect, and no one looks up to see whether the glass is in roundlets or in plain squares. (3) The Norwegian red granite—if only slightly polished—would make admirable steps into the church and into the chapels and would look almost like porphyry. I am very much afraid of the dull, sad English taste, due to climate and Protestantism, which delights in black and brown and every thing non-cheerful. A black-edged bordering to the Cathedral would be quite like our English mourning paper and so far in character. God bless you.

"Yours faithfully,

"H. C. Vaughan."

But in fairness to the Cardinal it must be remembered that these suggestions of an eager and unresting mind were balanced by a compensating and ingrained humility which on any merely artistic question would have made sustained opposition to Bentley's settled opinions impossible. It was more serious when what was in issue was not the random preferences of the Cardinal himself, but his regard for the feelings of generous givers. Thus more than once incongruous gifts came, and were accepted without reference to Bentley. When an old friend offered a pulpit of a particular design and workmanship, or when a group of Suffragan Bishops subscribed for a throne which was to be an "exact facsimile" of the Papal throne in St. John Lateran's, the Cardinal thought far more of the intentions of the givers than of the appropriateness or the artistic value of what they gave. In each of these instances Bentley's remonstrances proved ineffectual. And yet that they were not unheeded is shown by the fact that in the last letter he ever wrote, a letter delivered only after his death, the Cardinal begged his Vicar-General to try to see that the affairs of the Cathedral should be controlled by a consultative committee of priests and laymen, and so saved from the weaknesses or impulses of any single individual.

Mr. Bentley died in March, 1902. The following tribute to his memory, written at the time by Cardinal Vaughan, throws a pleasant light upon the relations between the two men: "The Cathedral will be his monument. For myself, I have a gratification in the thought that I gave him a free hand. Having laid down certain conditions as to size, space, chapels, and style, I left the rest to him. He offered me the choice between a vaulted roof and

one with saucer domes; I chose the latter. He wished to build two campaniles; I said one would be enough for me. For the rest, he had a free hand. A Metropolitan Cathedral is not a mission or a parish church, and the economies and limitations which I think ought in a missionary country with small resources to prevail, as a rule, in our ordinary buildings, would defeat a general religious object were they enforced upon the architect of a Cathedral. Mr. Bentley was a poet; he saw and felt the beauty, the fancy, the harmony and meaning of his artistic creations. He had no love of money, he cared little for economy; he had an immense love of art, a passion for truth and sincerity in his work. He was not ambitious to get on; he was not self-assertive—but he coveted to do well. He went in search of no work, but waited for work to come in search of him. He was exquisitely gentle and considerate in dealing with suggestions and objections; but he would have his own way whenever it was a question of fidelity to his own standard of artistic execution. I would not have singled him out to build cheap churches and schools, but he was the best of architects for a Cathedral, or for any work that was to excel in artistic beauty. He was no mere copyist, or slave to tradition; whatever he produced was stamped with his own individuality; it was alive and original, and he had a genius for taking infinite pains with detail. His reverence for God, for Our Lord, His Blessed Mother, and the Saints pervaded everything he did for the Church. In his judgments on art and style there was a critical but kindly humour; one always felt that there was an elevation, an inspiration, in his character that was due to his religious instincts and to his un-

worldly standard of life. It seems to me that it will be necessary, for the perfection of the work Mr. Bentley has left behind him, to retain his mind as a guide to its completion, as far as we can know it. We know what happened to St. Peter's and other buildings in which the plan and the genius of the original architect were departed from. Let us maintain the main idea and the unity of Bentley's work to the end."

The pledge then given has been faithfully kept.

It had always been part of Cardinal Vaughan's plans, even in the days when the Cathedral was still a project, to entrust the daily singing of the Divine Office to a choir of Benedictine monks. The idea of the return of the Benedictines to Westminster appealed strongly to his historic sense, and he believed there was no other body of men in the country so capable of rendering the Sacred Liturgy with reverence and stately splendour. The coming of the Benedictines seemed to him so natural an arrangement, and, as it were, so essentially a part of the fitness of things, that he seemed somehow to take it all for granted, and to assume that difficulties had only to be stated to be overcome. So that, a year before the foundation-stone of the Cathedral was laid, he had no hesitation in announcing that the English Benedictines would one day keep daily choir in its stalls—although no definite arrangement had been concluded, or even considered. In his speech at the public luncheon on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone he used these words: "His anxiety with regard to the Cathedral was allayed by the readiness with which he found the English Benedictine Fathers, full of life and energy and numbers, were willing to come back to Westminster. This had

removed from his mind another great anxiety." At that time the Cardinal had in his mind, while safeguarding the position and rights of the Chapter, to hand over the whole working and management of the Cathedral to the monks. The Benedictines were to man the fabric. This was quite in accord with old English custom. Thus at Canterbury the Cathedral was entirely served by a Benedictine community, who were governed by a Prior, the position of Abbot being held by the Bishop. The system had some obvious advantages. Under it there was no double body of clergy, and so no danger of overlapping spheres of work, with consequent opportunities for friction and misunderstandings. It at one time certainly represented what the Cardinal meant when he spoke of the Benedictines coming back to Westminster. On one occasion, in conversation with Abbot Gasquet he expressed his intention, when his plans were a little more matured, of handing over to the Benedictines the two missions in Westminster, which would ultimately be incorporated in the Cathedral parish, so that they might become familiar with the district they would have to work in when the Cathedral was opened.

But as time went on, before any definite arrangement had been made, Cardinal Vaughan began to see the grave inconveniences of the scheme. This was not a case of a remote Cathedral set down in a third-rate country town, but of a Cathedral in the heart of the Empire, making its appeal to a vast multitude and destined for the service of a whole people. It seemed incongruous that such a national centre of spiritual and far-reaching activities as he hoped the Cathedral would become, should be under the control of any single Religious Order, however ancient

and however distinguished. Having once come to the conclusion that his proposed arrangement would not be for the good of the Church as a whole, there was an end of debate as far as he was concerned. It was perhaps like him too that, absorbed in this one thought of what was best for the service of God, he failed to reflect upon such a detail as how far his change of view would be likely to commend itself to the other party to the plan. For his wish to entrust the singing of the Divine Office to the Benedictines was as strong as ever. There was no higher or holier work any body of men could be called upon to undertake, and he still unhesitatingly counted on the co-operation of the monks. Only he now thought of them as confining themselves to the service of the Liturgy, leaving to the clergy of the archdiocese the whole management of their own Cathedral. He knew there were precedents for such an arrangement in Catholic lands in the past, and he thought that in the case of Westminster Cathedral there was a special justification for it.

The negotiations which followed were so largely informal and *viva voce* that no connected record of them remains. A letter from Abbot Ford, of Downside, to the Cardinal, dated December 12th, 1898, lets us see how far the two parties had come together. The Abbot begins by saying that he would leave each Archbishop of Westminster free to employ the monks or not, as he pleased. Thus a new Archbishop would be at liberty to discontinue any arrangement made by his predecessor. On the other hand, a monastery was to be built to house the monks, and they were to have the use of one of the chapels in the Cathedral for their private offices in

perpetuity. In other words, part of the Cathedral was in effect to become the freehold of the English Benedictines. In addition to the singing of the Divine Office the Archbishop was to be entitled to call upon the monks to perform certain specific duties—as to say so many Masses daily, and to attend so many confessionals. An agreed sum was to be paid for these services. The control and the responsibility for the maintenance of the Cathedral were to remain with the Archbishop.

It may be doubted whether, under any circumstances, Cardinal Vaughan would have consented so far to bind the hands of his successors in the See as to hand over to a Religious Order the possession of a chapel in the Cathedral in perpetuity. But a more formidable difficulty presented itself. Whatever the liberty reserved to the Archbishop in selecting the sort of parish work to be done by the monks, it was hardly to be expected that they would acquiesce in any arrangement which might permanently exclude them from missionary work altogether. Yet the more the Cardinal considered the problems incidental to the activities of a double set of clergy, serving under separate superiors, and yet engaged upon a common work in the same place, the more insoluble they seemed.

A way out of his difficulties seemed to have been found when he thought of another Benedictine Congregation, which, unlike the English Benedictines, had no missionary character, and so was prepared to devote itself exclusively to a life of prayer and the work of singing the Divine Office. He visited the monks of Solesmes, and soon came to a provisional understanding with them. It then became necessary to break the news of this abrupt change

of plan to the English Benedictines. The following letter, dated December, 1900, was accordingly addressed to Abbot Gasquet :—

"Archbishop's House.

"Right Reverend Father Abbot President,—I am anxious to take advantage of the meeting of the General Chapter, over which I hear you are to preside on the occasion of the final settlement of the Anglo-Benedictine Constitution, to place before you and those whom it may directly concern the question of the service of Westminster Cathedral. Every one who knows what I said when the project of building the Cathedral was first announced is aware that I considered the daily singing of the Divine Office and of High Mass to be an essential part of the scheme. A Metropolitan Cathedral without the daily choral service would fail to meet the chief object we are aiming at. At the same time, my mind turned naturally to the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation as to the only body amongst us capable of undertaking the full Choir Service. The long connection of the English Benedictines with the Church in England, their unsurrendered claim to the Abbey of Westminster, not to speak of my own personal and affectionate relations with the Order since I first went to Downside in 1848 or 1849, pointed out your Congregation as the one whose co-operation I was anxious to secure. These thoughts and desires having been expressed several times by me, both in public and in private, I feel that I owe you an explanation of the position in which I now find myself.

"As the time approached for the realisation of the

desires I had expressed, difficulties arose on both sides that seemed to be insurmountable. I may summarise them in a few words, and, indeed, they may be practically reduced to one—viz., the difficulty of so adjusting the rights, the life, and the action of two independent bodies —such as a body of Regulars who, by their Constitution, are also missionaries, and a body of Secular missionary priests within the same Cathedral—as to preserve intact the rights of each, and yet maintain that perfect peace and harmony which is the first condition in a work of co-operation.

"On the one hand, I am bound to make the Metropolitan Cathedral and the adjoining Archbishop's House and buildings, as it were, the centre of the Hierarchy as well as of the diocese. The training of the young priests of the diocese should be carried on by the Secular clergy attached to the Cathedral, and this would evidently require that the parish and the parochial and the popular devotions in the Cathedral should be under their control. This, on the other hand, would at once confine the action of any religious body attached to the Cathedral to the daily choral rendering of the Liturgy.

"Now it has been pointed out to me, and I must admit with undeniable reason, that I could not expect a Religious Congregation like yours to sacrifice the missionary character of their Constitution by confining its members to the choral service of the Cathedral, to its exclusion from all active work in the ministry. And yet to employ two bodies, under separate Superiors, on one and the same work, in the same Cathedral, would involve too great a risk for either of us to consider it prudent or wise to make the attempt.

"While revolving in my mind this apparently insurmountable difficulty, I chanced to become acquainted with the Benedictine Congregation of Solesmes. I found that, unlike the Anglo-Benedictine, the Cassinese, the Beuron, and some other Benedictine Congregations, their Constitutions confine their vocation to the solemn singing of the Office, and forbid them to take part in the work of the ministry and other external work, such as the foundation of Colleges, &c. Here, then, seems to be a solution of the difficulty that has arisen. The points of contact, and therefore of friction, between the two bodies working in the same church are reduced to a minimum, and the reasonable prospect of peace and harmony is raised to the maximum. The Solesmes Benedictines would be asked to forgo no part of their vocation or Constitutions, while they would give to the Cathedral the Liturgical character which is needed, spending the rest of the time in study, prayer, &c., and according to their practice elsewhere. So far, however, nothing has been decided: nor would it be my wish to settle anything in this matter without a previous reference to the body with which I had already been in communication. I have, however, visited Solesmes, and discussed the possibilities with the Abbot. And I have received from him a reply full of generous sentiments, and of respect for his Anglo-Benedictine brethren, with the sketch of a plan that is perfectly satisfactory to myself as a basis for a tentative agreement.

"I may add that their foundation in England would in due time become independent, and not continue as a dependency on the Mother House abroad, while for the first years the arrangement would be merely experi-

mental. I am therefore anxious to lay this matter before you as Abbot President of the English Benedictines, and to act in such a manner with you as shall render it impossible for any one to feel that an affront has been offered to the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, or that they have been treated by me without consideration and courtesy. I have therefore ventured to send you this letter, and to say that if you see any other practical arrangement that would be more satisfactory to you, I shall be much pleased to examine it with you. Meanwhile, believe me to be, Right Reverend Father Abbot President,

"Your faithful and devoted servant,

"HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN."

Enclosed with this letter was one from Père Paul Delatte, Abbot of Solesmes, in which he stated the conditions on which his Congregation was prepared to become responsible for the rendering of the Liturgy at Westminster Cathedral. It is unnecessary to set out the terms of this letter, because it was afterwards subjected to considerable revision, with the result that the Abbot of Solesmes was able to assent to the following set of regulations suggested to him by the Cardinal:—

"1. The Abbot of Solesmes will send a number of monks, about —— in number, to reside at Westminster Cathedral.

"2. The work of the monks will be to sing or chant the daily Liturgical Office at hours to be regulated by the Archbishop.

"3. It is agreed, at the wish of the Abbot of Solesmes, that the monks shall remain at the Cathedral and dis-

charge their duties there on a tenure 'at will' and in title of services rendered, and that the connection may be terminated on either side, if the working of it should fail to give satisfaction either to the Cardinal Archbishop or the Abbot of Solesmes.

"4. The Anglo-Benedictine Congregation shall be notified of the arrangement, and their co-operation solicited.

"5. In the selection and admission of monks, an object to be kept specially in view will be the desirability of the community of monks gradually becoming one of native origin.

"6. During the course of the year September, 1900–1901, the *Ordo Vivendi* of the monks of the Cathedral shall be drawn up and arrangements made for their material support.

"7. The *Ordo Vivendi*, including the hours of the Liturgical service, shall not take effect until it has received the sanction of the Archbishop.

"8. In the building of the monastery a monastic architect shall be consulted as to the plans and as to the arrangements which concern the internal life of the monks.

"9. The monks at the Cathedral will retain St. Michael's, Farnborough, as a country house or *Villeggiatura*.

"10. As the Cathedral of Westminster will be used not only for the daily Liturgical services, but also for Archiepiscopal and Capitular functions, and for parochial and congregational services, in order that such services may not collide, an *Horarium*, weekly or monthly, shall be drawn up by a small commission consisting of the monastic Prior, the Parochial Administrator, a member

deputed by the Chapter, and the Archbishop's Master of Ceremonies. The *Horarium* shall receive the sanction of the Archbishop, whose judgment on any point of difference shall be decisive.

"11. In the regulation of the various classes of functions the following order shall obtain:

"A. Archiepiscopal functions shall be under the charge and direction of the Cardinal's Master of Ceremonies.

"B. Capitular functions shall be under the direction of the Master of Ceremonies of the Chapter.

"C. Purely Liturgical services shall be under the direction of the Monastic authority.

"D. Parochial functions shall be under the direction of the Parochial Administrator.

"12. The use of the Choir shall be reserved to the monks during the hours appointed for the celebration of the Divine Office.

"13. The use of the High Altar and the Sanctuary for the functions shall be regulated by the commission of the *Horarium* or directly by the Archbishop.

"14. The regulation of such charges as those of heating, cleaning, police of the Cathedral, as well as the charge, and custody, of the library, shall be decided by arrangements to be made with the Archbishop.

"15. There shall be a separate Sacristy for Monastic vestments and Liturgical objects connected with the Monastery."

Unfortunately, however, for the Cardinal's plans, these articles had hardly set out the whole facts. If it was to be of any real use the help of Solesmes was dependent upon co-operation from Downside. The Abbot of Solesmes had not enough men at his command to enable

him to undertake the work unaided. He proposed to send four or five monks from the Mother House and twice the number from St. Michael's, Farnborough, but he counted on the English Benedictines to let four or five of their subjects associate themselves with the new community at Westminster. Moreover, in the frankest way the Abbot of Solesmes warned the Cardinal that of the monks he could supply some might have no voices or ear for music, so that much would depend on the efficiency of the Choir school and a body of hired singers.

The answer of the English Benedictines was decisive. It must be remembered that this was a matter in which they had never at any time taken the initiative. When at the outset it had been the Cardinal's earnest wish that they should undertake the daily choral service in the Cathedral they had been ready to place all the resources of their Congregation at his disposal. But this new scheme was quite another thing. What had seemed to the Cardinal just an act of fellowship between men working for a common cause, to the English Benedictines presented itself, and not unnaturally, in a very different light. They thought it an impossible proposal—much as though the authorities of Notre Dame in Paris, publicly despairing of the resources of French monasticism, had decided to call to their aid the services of the German Beuron congregation of Benedictines to carry out the Liturgy in the principal Cathedral of France. Moreover, it was pointed out that while the French community were to provide only a dozen monks, some of whom might be useless for choir purposes, the English Congregation was invited to supply all the rest. Yet the

Frenchmen were to supply the Superiors, while the place of the rank and file would be filled by English monks. The plan was set aside as quite unworkable.

Those who were much with Cardinal Vaughan in those days know that he received the reply of the English Benedictines without disappointment. Freedom from the proposed contract was, in fact, not unwelcome to him. He thought the Solesmes monks had acted towards him with great generosity and a perfect devotion to the cause. He remembered with gratitude those words of Père Delatte: "The day we cease to give satisfaction to the Archiepiscopal authority it will be our duty to retire." At the same time it was clear to him that the assistance which Solesmes could offer was wholly insufficient without help from Downside—and that help he now saw could hardly be expected. And he no longer regretted it. He understood as he had never done the difficulties which must arise from a fourfold jurisdiction—the opportunities for friction which must come when in the management of a single Cathedral there met the authority of the Ordinary, the Chapter, the Choir monks, and the Parochial Administrator. I have said he learned of the breaking off of his negotiations with the French and English monks with equanimity, but perhaps the truer word would be "relief." He was resolved to fall back upon a simpler and bolder solution, and, to the huge delight of the whole archdiocese, decided to entrust the rendering of the liturgy of the Cathedral to the Secular clergy. It was a decision he was long in coming to, but it was one which answered his every hope, and the experiment has since been crowned with

a splendid and unequivocal success. The only wonder now is how any other arrangement could ever have been contemplated.

With Cardinal Vaughan least of all men could the other plan have succeeded. He was far too fond, in his outbreaks of zeal, of what he called "prodding his neighbours" to be a comfortable companion, and his dealings with monks, who had Superiors of their own to appeal to, certainly would not have made for harmony. The decision to call in the Secular clergy was thus announced in the *Tablet* in June, 1901: "Much public interest has for some time past centred in the question how and by whom the solemn Liturgical Offices of the Church are to be rendered in the new Cathedral. We understand that an important communication on the subject was made to the clergy on the occasion of the recent Synod. Having briefly referred to the unforeseen difficulties which had arisen when it had been proposed to call in the services of a Religious Order for the daily religious chant of the Liturgy, the Cardinal Archbishop announced that he gladly availed himself of the readiness of the Secular clergy to take up the work. At the same time he intimated that the attainment of a really high standard of efficiency must be taken as a condition precedent of the arrangement. He went on to express his confidence that with the resources at his disposal, and the loyal co-operation of those around him, such a standard can be both secured and maintained. The announcement that the responsibility for this most important branch of the work of the Cathedral is to be entrusted to the Secular clergy of the diocese has been received with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction. The whole subject has already been

taken seriously in hand, and, happily, funds are available for the purpose, though we doubt not the Cardinal would welcome every addition to them, for officers of the standing of Minor Canons or Prebendaries can be supported only at considerable cost.

"The best of arrangements sometimes leaves room for regrets, and we confess we should have been glad if it had been possible to see the cowls of the Benedictines back in Westminster, and to know that there were opportunities for joining in their religious chant. We must take comfort in the thought that Religious Orders live long, and that the Benedictines are the custodians of the great reversion—the reversion of Westminster Abbey. And yet, apart from the old associations which cluster around the site of Westminster, is it not after all better, and more in accordance with the fitness of things, that the Secular clergy should themselves render the Liturgy in the new Cathedral? It would have been somewhat anomalous and somewhat inconvenient for both priests and people had the Roman Office, which is in common use throughout the Church, been excluded from the Metropolitan Cathedral to make way for a Breviary limited to the use of a Religious Order. Nor is it at all certain that this natural arrangement which entrusts the chant of the Cathedral to the clergy of the diocese will carry with it any penalty of comparative poverty in musical resources. Obviously the Secular clergy, at home and abroad, is a larger body to draw on in case of need than any other. At any rate, whatever advantages may be claimed for this or that 'might have been,' the arrangement which has in fact been adopted has its own large compensations."

On the same occasion the immediate foundation of a Cathedral Choir school was announced. Among the compensations just referred to was the power reserved to the Archbishop to terminate the engagement of any member of the Choir at will. In the case of a monastic choir that could have been done only for reasons assigned and also for reasons commending themselves as sufficient to a monastic Superior. Nor in this connection need it be pointed out what an instrument of obstruction a "holy Rule" may become in the hands of a really determined Superior.

On the 7th of May, the Eve of the Feast of the Ascension, 1902, the Divine Office was sung for the first time by the new Cathedral choir, and now for eight years it has been sung day after day without the omission of a single sentence, and in a way which in all essentials may compare with that of any Basilica in Rome. The Cardinal's scheme has been amply realised, and in the manner he desired. There is now a College of eighteen Chaplains, by whom the complete Liturgy is celebrated in the Choir of the Cathedral every day in the year.

Westminster Cathedral, in every sense of the phrase, was built for eternity. Its future is part of the history of London; but it is not too soon to say that the wish which was nearest to the Cardinal's heart—a Live Cathedral—has already been fulfilled, and beyond his dreams, since his death. Every Sunday morning the great spaces of the Cathedral are filled with people at service after service. To have added to the architectural glories of the Empire was an incidental good; but, as Cardinal Vaughan would have said, "It is the Mass that matters."

CHAPTER XI

CHARACTERISTICS

IN trying to sum up the chief characteristics of such a life as that of Cardinal Vaughan it is impossible not to feel the essential limitations of all biography. Whatever words are used there is much that is vital to the man which, after all, must be left unexpressed. How, for instance, shall I convey to strangers any adequate idea of the constant and fatherly care with which, not only during the days of his splendid strength in Salford, but also in the failing years at Westminster, he watched over and cared for his missioners from Mill Hill? They were scattered through the wildest lands in the world—in Africa and Asia and the Isles of the Pacific. And wherever they went Herbert Vaughan's thoughts went with them. The hope of winning souls to God among the crowds of the Heathen was always close to him; it lived with him; it was his first love, and it was the last. However busy and tired and harassed he was, and amid whatever difficulties and perplexities, the thought of the work of which St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, was the centre came back to him and always as a source of refreshment and gladness. There are heaps of letters that might be printed—but how few would read them! They are full of geographical details, of advice as to the financial

support of the missions, of inquiries as to the best place for locating stations or centres, and of suggestions as to the best way of dealing with this or that influential person—manager of a Chartered Company or important Savage. Other letters are full of inquiries and suggestions as to the possibility of training a native clergy, of the treatment of converts and of exhortations as to health, and insistence on a knowledge of medicine for all his missioners.

Spiritual advice is comparatively rare in these letters to his missioners. Perhaps he felt he was addressing men already in the fighting-line. One letter in this respect is an exception. It was addressed to a young priest, now dead, when he was about to leave Mill Hill for the Foreign Missions:—

"My dear Father,—Here are some memoranda: Look upon your voyage across the Ocean as an image of your passage through life. There will be nothing but a thin plank between you and Eternity. At any time a tempest or accident might bring your voyage to a sudden termination—such is life. But you are in the hands of a most loving Father who has numbered even the hairs of your head. How much more has He at heart the welfare and happiness of the soul which He created in His own image because He desired it to live with Him in Eternity! Make every day a preparation for death as though each day were to be your last. Death will not come a moment earlier than the time fixed by God because you prepare most carefully to meet it. Do not fear, therefore, to look at death and to become familiar with it. You are in the hands of a heavenly Father. Let your life, whether on board the ship or on the land,

be the life of one who will soon have to account for every thought, word, and deed. Every morning place yourself under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph, and often renew the offering of yourself during the day. Ejaculatory prayer must become habitual. You will need to practise much patience—patience with others, patience with yourself, patience with God. Silence and an offering of trials to God is the true way to practise patience. Be much on your guard against temptations of the flesh. You are going to a land where such temptations will be numerous, and where falls may be easy. Grace alone can save you—no one, not even your own desires, can save you—only God's holy grace can do this for and in you. Your Father will not abandon you if you never abandon your Blessed Mother. Be very careful in keeping a guard over your eyes—death enters through those windows. If there be modesty in the eyes there will be modesty in the heart. Familiarity must be avoided, and a certain sacerdotal and apostolic reserve must be practised. If you would surround your heart with a wall of protection against the most insidious enemies to your soul, beg of Our Lady to protect your purity and say three 'Hail Marys' daily to her for this object. Never believe yourself to be strong or safe against such a temptation; the moment this kind of pride asserts itself take it as a warning that you may be near a fall, unless you become humble and fly from danger. Fix all your affections on our Father and our Mother in Heaven, and your affections will then become sanctified and perfect. May God bless you, my dear Father, and may He accept your generous offer of yourself to His service. May He grant you the reward of an Apostle and may your noble and

generous aspirations grow never less than they are now!

"Your devoted Father in Jesus Christ,

"HERBERT, Bishop of Salford,

"Superior-General."

Of a later period, August 14th, 1896, is the following:—

"MY DEAR CHILDREN,—On this Feast of the great Apostle the glad news comes to me of the departure for the Foreign Missions of three young sisters from Nazareth House. I assure you that this is a most joyful announcement. Whenever I hear of souls devoted to Our Lord's service and love giving up home and country to spend themselves in distant lands that lie in darkness, I feel as though God had given me a special consolation and an inward joy. I shall not be able to see you and bless you ere you go, but I bless you with my whole heart *now* and I send you the message, 'God speed you.' I shall say Mass for the three of you on Saturday next; not, indeed, that you may be, like St. John, beheaded on that day, but that you may be, like him, a bright and shining light and lamps hung in a dark place, giving light and joy to all within your influence. In the oil that is there to burn pour out all your self-love; the more completely that is burnt up, the brighter and purer will be the light. And now may God bless you all. May Mary and Joseph keep you always closely attached to Him, who is their Son, as well as the Son of God."

In another connection, but also a very "human document" illustrating the habitual attitude of the writer towards the world, is this letter to a near kinsman who had suffered a sudden reverse of fortune: "I have just received your letter telling me of the ruin you

are involved in through the panic which got so complete a possession of the American and English Stock Exchanges. I need not say how sorry I am to hear of it. It is no use examining into the past, the only thing to be done is to set to work at once, and start life again on such conditions as are brought about by your misfortune. That is what an American who fails twice or thrice in his lifetime does. He accepts the new conditions, cuts his coat according to his cloth, and works cheerfully away at whatever business he enters upon. Do not do anything hastily, but weigh things well, and then act deliberately and cheerfully. I am very glad that you and N. take your misfortune so calmly and patiently. A great temporal trial is certainly intended by God to be used by us for a spiritual gain. You will, therefore, I am sure, try to put it to the best account. It matters little whether we are rich or poor, prosperous or unfortunate in this world, provided we are 'minting money' for Heaven by the practice of patience, resignation, honesty, and the love of God. Life is soon over; it is just worth what it will fetch in the next world. Nor do cheerfulness and content depend upon riches. God bless you, and let me hear from you soon again."

If you asked Cardinal Vaughan's advice on any matter you knew he would give it with frankness and directness, but you had to reckon with the point of view. There would be no adroit balancing of worldly advantages against a spiritual gain. The interests of your own soul and the wider interests of God's Church would come first, and "the rest were nowhere." Consulted by a nephew who had thought of going into the army, he replied:—

"I put down in the briefest form my reasons against

the Army: (1) You will end your education where the most important part of it should commence. This will be a lasting and irreparable loss. (2) You will certainly not make the Army a lasting profession—it will be a pastime for a few years only. (3) The Army leads to nothing in a country like England. (4) The Army is an expensive kind of life, and whereas it may suit young men with plenty of money, it would not suit you. (5) The glitter of it may attract you at the present moment, but I believe you are of much too serious a character and are capable of too high aspirations to be satisfied with such a life. On the other hand, I think it highly advisable that you should learn (1) how to retrieve the fortunes of Courtfield by obtaining useful knowledge such as may enable you to look after and make the best of landed property. Otherwise you will be always in the hands of others and dependent. Knowledge of this kind will become more necessary even than it is now. (2) The Catholic Church needs at the present time in England more than at any former period the presence and influence of a Catholic gentry. Now a Catholic gentleman's influence and power depend chiefly upon his mental and moral education and cultivation. He ought to be well trained in Philosophy, to have been well disciplined by study between his eighteenth and twenty-fourth year, and to have acquired some special knowledge, whether professional or otherwise. At the present time we are lamentably and disgracefully deficient, and cut a miserable figure before the country, because our Catholic youth either have no ambition to do anything or have not been educated to do anything that is serious and earnest. On the other hand, the field of public service, whether on the County Councils or

in other spheres, is large; Catholics never had a more open field, and it becomes simply their own fault or that of their advisers if they do not aim at the nobler lives of public usefulness and service. (3) We have the Holy Father appealing to Catholic youth to study Philosophy (and all who know the world as it is outside—not inside—Catholic homes and colleges know how profoundly right the Pope has been in this appeal). And what do we behold on the part of teachers and scholars in Catholic colleges almost everywhere? An utter ignoring of this highest appeal that can be made to Catholic youth on earth.

"I quite understand that there are many cases in which this appeal cannot be responded to: men must eat and live before they can study Philosophy. But this is not your case. You can give the time to higher education; nothing stands in the way. You have the opportunity given you by God to train yourself into a man who may render great service to Heaven. But there comes the temptation, the glitter, the attraction which may fatally allure you from such a higher path. As to the conversation with Cardinal Manning, it is easy to understand that if it were a mere choice between drilling your toes and drilling your acres, he might prefer the former. But that is not by any means a fair presentment of the case as I conceive it. I have written without delay and simply *per summa capita*, and I hope you will be able to make it out. Your affectionate uncle, HERBERT."

Did ever the question whether or not a boy should go to Sandhurst seem to involve such far-reaching issues? Some years later, whether or not he came to think more seriously of the Army as a career, or because his nephew was some years older, the Cardinal seems to have changed

his mind, and certainly it was largely through his instrumentality that Mr. Charles Vaughan obtained a commission in the 7th Dragoon Guards.[1]

The note of Herbert Vaughan's whole career was Faith and those readjustments of values which Faith involves. And obviously such readjustments of values follow of necessity. If this life is only a preparation for Eternity its successes and failures are small matters, on which it would be foolish to spend much emotion. And as with life, so with death. The Cardinal had looked death in the eyes for years, and he never could think of its coming as a calamity. "From one room into the next—what time is there to be vexed?" People perhaps were sometimes chilled, or disconcerted, by the calm way in which he listened to their stories of bereavement; but truth and simplicity were a second nature to him, and he had no art to pretend more sympathy than he felt. If the death were a good and holy one it was what he would have welcomed at any time for himself. In the case of children, taken while their baptismal innocence was still unstained, the duty of saying comforting things to the relatives was specially difficult. I well remember once going into his room with my mind filled with the thought of a death that I knew had left a home absolutely desolate. I forget what I said on the subject, but I shall never forget the reply; turning in his chair, he said almost with a laugh, "Best thing that could have happened." Then with a quick change of tone he added, "What chance would that child have had in after-life? You know his father's opinions and to what he is drifting—would

[1] Major Vaughan served in the South African War, and was dangerously wounded.

that boy ever have been brought up as a good Catholic? God has taken him in his day of innocence—and depend upon it God knows best." There was nothing to say—I could only feel that I was in the presence of a Faith that was a reality.

Herbert Vaughan, as saints of God before him, had his own dark hour of temptation before the end. It was an episode that had no apparent relation to anything that went before. All his life was lived in view of the Eternal, and must be judged from that standpoint. Naturally he was a man of strong impulses and high ambitions, a man who liked to drive and climb and grasp. He has been described as an ecclesiastical Cecil Rhodes, as a spiritual Empire-builder, which means only that his natural qualities were not transformed when they were deflected into the service of God. What it cost him to give up his hopes of distinction in a secular career no one will ever know. That battle had been fought in the long ago, on the Herefordshire hillsides, when he resolved to consecrate himself and his energies and the whole purpose of his life to the service of the Church and the salvation of souls in the Catholic priesthood. The renouncement was complete, and whatever it cost there was never any looking back. If he had ambitious hopes, or yearning for the common joys of men, such aspirations were resolutely and finally shut away. They were locked up in a cupboard into which he never looked, and stood for a chapter in his life which was closed for ever. This extract from his early diary, already cited, and kept while he was still a student in Rome, gives us a glimpse of him as he was when he first gave himself to the Church: "My line is to arrive. I cannot walk, but I

must run. Seldom do I walk slowly, seldom do I look where I must put my feet, or pause to see what may be the obstacles in the way. How many times a day am I not within an inch of being run ever? How often in the streets do I put my hand to a horse's head to let myself pass by before him? Everything savours of impatience, of hurry, of love of the object to be attained and of recklessness as to the means." Yet the time came when the cataract was harnessed, and when all these natural energies were trained to bear the yoke of the Church. He knew there was much to unlearn as well as to acquire. He was aiming high, and his consecration of himself to the service of God implied a perfect detachment from all earthly ties.

For years after he left home his heart was at Courtfield and with the dear ones it sheltered, but he gradually schooled himself to write to them seldom and to speak of them not at all. Those sweet distractions had to be forgotten if the devotion of his life was to be complete. People who knew him then, and indeed long afterwards, thought him indifferent to home ties, and even spoke of him as though the fountains of his affections had dried up. Had they? Take this instance. Among his friends at this time was Mr. Aubrey de Vere, who was constantly writing home to his sister at Curragh Chase. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, in his Life of de Vere, says: "The Cardinal once told me that the affectionate Irishman who wrote constantly to his mother and sister, and talked daily with lingering love of his Irish home, could not understand—could scarcely believe in—the phase of 'ascetic detachment' in the Englishman, which made him at this time speak of family ties as of no interest

to him. At last Aubrey became convinced by further intimacy that Vaughan had given an accurate account of his sentiments. 'I really believe,' said the poet in exasperation, 'that if some one told you that your father, mother, and brothers had been burnt to death in the next room, you would simply ring for the servant to clear away the ashes.'" Nature was not so easily conquered. In his diary, kept at that time, and possibly even written that very night, after a chance reference to the family at Courtfield, stand the words, "Ah, how I love them!" No doubt as the years went on, and he became more and more absorbed in the work of his choice, family and friends came to have a subordinate place in his thoughts—or rather were resolutely kept in a subordinate place—but they were never forgotten.

All his life Cardinal Vaughan had a hatred and a horror of nepotism. He used to say he saw that word written large across the page of ecclesiastical history and through all the ages. He was resolved that at least nothing in his own life should ever give colour to the charge. He had near relatives in the sanctuary, and it was impossible that they should not sometimes feel the effects of this reaction against the ordinary claims of kinship. On one occasion, when he was Bishop of Salford, he went to some sacred concert in Manchester in company with his brother, Father Bernard Vaughan. During an interval in the concert the Jesuit watched his brother moving among the town councillors and the commercial magnates of the city with a friendly word for each—a gracious presence that everywhere seemed to flatter and to please. Struck with this unwonted affability, Father Bernard, on the way home, ventured

on a remonstrance and asked why these courtesies were reserved for "export" and never shown to those of his own family. "If there is not enough to go around, why not occasionally start at the home end, and let outsiders starve—as we generally do?" The Bishop paused in his walk and said, "There is this difference—you know me and those men do not. You do not require to be assured of what you know is your own."

Herbert Vaughan had consecrated himself to God without reserve, and that meant a lifelong effort to destroy and kill out self-love and even the very thought of self. His was an eager, striving, and strenuous life, but it was directed with a rare simplicity and singleness of purpose to one end. Health and strength and fortune and reputation were thought of just as things to be used up as required for the saving of souls. In the rarefied atmosphere in which he breathed there seemed no room for the thought of self. It was sometimes almost uncanny in hours of intimacy with him to note how infinitely remote was any thought or care for what people would say or think of his public actions. Such a side-issue as popularity had simply no interest for him. Writing to an intimate friend in 1895 he said: "I offer Him all. I ask to be allowed to surrender every fibre, He alone being the Master of every string and note belonging to me. He may take away my health and capacity, send me failure and public dishonour—dry up my soul like the dust, if only He will support me, and let me love Him and serve Him." In the early diary he notes that it is part of his nature that he should want to stamp himself upon everything he touched. He cries out that God has made intensity part of his nature. But the

discipline of years had so told that in the end personal claims seemed to forget to assert themselves.

From the very beginning of my acquaintance with him, far back in the Salford days, I came to the conclusion that he was one of the most genuinely humble men I had ever met. And this impression grew as I knew him better. But it was a humility that was of grace rather than of nature. In view of the fact that he afterwards became successively Bishop, Archbishop, and Prince of the Church, the following memorandum on ambition and the seeking for ecclesiastical honours is of interest; "Among the passions which assert themselves within me none seems stronger or more pervasive than ambition. Ambition shows itself in a great love of power over the things I care for. So that I am tempted to feel dissatisfied at the thought of the possibility of occupying a subordinate or insignificant position. This love of power causes a love of honours. Any honour which appears to increase this power becomes acceptable and desirable. But the honour is loved also for its own sake—it gives one an importance in the eyes of others, gratifies natural vanity and love of living in the view of the world. These two passions are so strong and so natural that they are very subtle, and consequently very pervasive. I only see and know myself in part; self-love as well as ignorance and sin hide from my eyes a great deal of my real self. The whole of my life I have been learning this, and I have again and again found out that where I thought I was innocent and without fault, there I was only washed over with a thin coat of whitening. My temptation now is to esteem position, honour, and dignity as a means to increase my power

of serving God, by giving me an increased influence for good, means of access to persons, of obtaining a place in their consideration, &c.—and all this apparently with a good motive. I see, moreover, that self-love is, if not stronger than my love of God's honour and glory, very strong and perhaps next to it. This is the knowledge which I have of myself; and now what is the knowledge that I have of the supernatural life with special reference to honours and position of authority and command? There are three positions a soul may take up in the presence of such possibilities: (1) To desire honour as a means to power, and power as a means of promoting simply the honour and glory of God. I know many saints who have striven to obtain power; I know no instance of a saint striving to obtain honour or dignity even for a good purpose; (2) to be indifferent to honours or dignity—neither to ask for them nor to refuse them. This was the position taken up by St. Francis of Sales. N.B.—To make this the end of one's efforts seems to require (1) a great control of self-love, (2) an amount of solid virtue which I cannot pretend to, and (3) such a knowledge of self and an intellect and will so well balanced as to be proof against self-deception. Moreover, it is harder for an impetuous or vigorous nature to try to attain indifference to a thing than to obtain an abhorrence of it. It is easier to fly from honour and consideration and respect than to hold one's self indifferent and immobile in their presence. To fly honour, position, esteem of man, &c.—this has been the resolution and the practice of thousands of saints. It has been considered by them as easier, safer, and more fervent—*e.g.*, St. Ignatius and his Order as to honour and dignities

—*vide* thousands of others. What shall my resolution be—the last?"

On one occasion, when he was still a young man studying for the priesthood, he was spending some days with his uncle and aunt at Ince-Blundell, and a discussion arose at luncheon as to some question in geography. The governess had given her opinion and it was questioned with some heat by Herbert Vaughan. That afternoon the schoolroom door was opened and the tall form of this youth of twenty appeared. He had come to apologise to the governess in the presence of all the children for his rudeness in contradicting her.

Long afterwards, when I was editing the *Tablet* for him, it sometimes happened that we took opposite views as to what was likely to be the effect of something that had been said, or some line of policy that had been adopted, in its columns. He was always anxious in such discussions to shut out of view the fact that he was the proprietor of the paper. They often ended by his saying, "Well, you won't go far wrong if you take me as your 'foolometer'—a safe measure of what the man in the street is saying." He was the only person I ever had to deal with who thought his contributions to a newspaper were improved by editorial attentions. When he occasionally sent an article to his own paper he never seemed really pleased unless it were altered and put into shape in the office. Sometimes, after he had come to Westminster, he would read over the draft of some communication to the *Times* or a Pastoral Letter and ask for criticisms. It often happened that I honestly thought that he had said what he wanted to say quite excellently, but I never expressed that opinion without feeling that I was expos-

ing myself to a momentary suspicion of being indifferent, and not wanting the trouble of suggesting improvements. He seemed to assume that any friend could take his work and knock it about to its great advantage. That his work was good as it stood and difficult to improve on was the last thing to occur to him.

On one occasion we had been discussing the relations between English and Irish Catholics. He felt that we were constantly calling upon the Irish members to safeguard Catholic interests in this country, and yet had no opportunity of rendering any service in return. He then suggested that the Catholics of Great Britain might help their Irish comrades by signing and presenting to Parliament a petition in favour of a Catholic University for Ireland. A few days later he handed me the draft of a petition he had drawn up, and asked me to take it home and let him have it back with any suggestions in the course of a day or two. I put it in my pocket without looking at it, but when I got home it was missing. I must have dropped it in the street. My first impulse was to go back at once to Archbishop's House to explain the mishap. On second thoughts, as I was perfectly familiar with the Cardinal's views on the subject, it seemed simpler to sit down and draft a new petition. This I did. A few days later I read what I had written to the Cardinal. He was greatly pleased, and when finally it seemed that I had erased every single line he had written, his satisfaction knew no bounds. Such zeal called forth his cordial thanks. I felt I had to tell him what had happened, and then his enthusiasm seemed suddenly to fade, and he began to examine the terms of the petition much more impartially. However, the petition was approved, and

in due course was signed throughout the country and presented to Parliament.

Cardinal Vaughan's habit of depreciating his own literary work had little warrant. There are passages in his writings which might serve as models of a simple and noble prose. On the other hand, his sense of the values of words would sometimes fail him in the oddest way. Thus he was quite unaware that he had written anything which could give offence when in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, already referred to, he declined to consider the last years of Cardinal Manning's life, on the ground that he was then already suffering from "senile decay." He was genuinely astonished when he found that the phrase was bitterly resented, and by many among his own clergy. He appealed to me to tell him frankly if I thought the phrase open to objection, and when I answered that the word "senile" had such unpleasant associations that one would not willingly use it of a friend, he said simply, "Well—I don't understand ; I suppose we shall all be senile if we live long enough." Some years later, shortly before his death, I heard him apply the epithet to his own case without flinching.

His drives across London at night to attend public meetings, or to preach at this or that church, were frequent, and priests who used to accompany him have told me that it was his invariable custom to spend the time in silence and prayer. He would lean back in a corner of the carriage, and would have seemed to be asleep except that every now and then the light of a street lamp falling on his face would show that his lips were moving.

It was the same when he was travelling abroad.

Whatever the discomforts of the road, and however tiring the journey, there was time for prayer many times in the day, and often in the night. A friend who knew him well, Mgr. Dunn, says: "I remember well a journey I made with him from Genoa to Rome. We were spending the night in the train and had been fortunate enough to secure a compartment to ourselves. He bade me turn in on one side of the carriage and he made as though to do so himself on the other. After some hours—possibly when we were at Pisa—I was awakened by some shunting operations on the line. I opened my eyes, but there was very little light in the carriage, for the Cardinal had drawn the cover over the lamp as we were leaving Genoa. When, however, my eyes had become accustomed to the darkness, I saw the form of the Cardinal kneeling on the floor of the carriage, and I am persuaded that he took no rest at all—like his Master, '*Erat pernoctans in oratione Dei.*'"

Writing to an intimate friend, the Cardinal, in a letter of July, 1896, says: "I have to-day attended a smart luncheon, with all the best musicians performing after it. The whole thing was ashes to me; I was far away in spirit from it all. I am far more drawn to my Chapel than to any of the activities I am obliged to engage in." Two months later he says: "I have come to this conclusion: It is impossible thoroughly to harmonise visits to country houses, when filled with guests, in which festivities, luxury of the table, and a variety of innocent frivolities constitute the life, with an abiding sympathy with the '*Stabat Mater.*' It is also impossible properly to realise the destruction of souls going on—souls to whom one has a divine mission—along with this kind of life. I only regret that I am

engaged to go to N. I shall make that visit very short. I can do very little good indeed by such visits and am better without them."

That this was not a passing mood appears from an entry in his diary two months later. On September 24th he writes: "On this Feast of Our Lady peace came into my soul with this thought. It is impossible for me to go voluntarily into social gatherings in country houses, where guests, feasts, and frivolities prevail, often, too, in my honour as chief guest. Why? Because I am intent on the '*Stabat Mater*' and all it contains of faith, love, and sorrow. Because I am the father of millions of souls in London who are living in sin and are being hurried towards Hell. These are souls I ought to be working to rescue through prayer and solitude and an active apostolate. Then there are the multitudes of Catholics who are spiritually dead, ill, or miserable. To be thoroughly devoted to all this work, and to be immersed in all these sorrows, needs all the time I can spare to be with them and with God. Let me see how in a month's time these thoughts will strike me." Some ten days later he writes: "How speedily He seems to have heard this prayer—'To live always with Thee'! For the rest of my life this must be my aim and occupation; with Him as He shows Himself here, *i.e.*, (1) on the Crucifix; (2) silent, humble, adoring, praying in the Tabernacle; (3) sorrow for my own sins and for the sins of my flock and of mankind; union with His Soul in the Garden and during the thirty-three years on earth. His life on earth is my example, and union with Him—that is, 'to live always with Him' while here in this exile and time of probation. If I carry this out I shall win graces

for souls far more than by greater activity and going into society. This seems like the end of my social life. I have to live with Jesus Christ in future. This will fill me with His mind, His aim, His sorrow, His love. There will be but rare visits to people in their homes in the country, but many more to St. Joseph's, Mill Hill."

When he came to Westminster he had to choose a new confessor, and he selected his private secretary, Mgr. Johnson. He astonished the priest the first time he came to confession by bending and kissing his feet at the end of the confession, and when the embarrassed confessor tried to remonstrate the Archbishop said gently, "Let me — it does me good;" but when that was ineffectual he cut short further expostulations by the pointed remark, "It is not you I am reverencing."

One day, towards the end of December, 1894, some one told him that he had given scandal by the way in which he rushed through ecclesiastical ceremonies. To use his own words, "He looked into himself and had a revelation." It seemed to him that all his life as Bishop he had been insulting God by "sinful irreverence." "I went at once to confess it; I confess it every time I go, and shall do till the end. I have purposed amendment and some form of public reparation." For some time afterwards he often completely broke down when saying Mass and could not go on for tears and loss of voice. "Less activity and more prayer in future" was his resolve. Mgr. Dunn, writing of a period which was some months later, says: "Very shortly after I had joined his service, in 1895, we were in Rome at the English College, when one morning he suddenly called me into his room. He was evidently much distressed and I wondered what

could have occurred. He told me in all simplicity that he had come to realise how much scandal and disedification he had caused by being too hasty and impatient at public functions. I endeavoured to pass the matter off, and said that I did not think any scandal had been taken—although his hastiness had given rise to the nickname of the 'scarlet-runner.' But tears welled up in his eyes, and before he had completed his self-accusation he completely broke down. He ended by charging me in virtue of obedience to check him at once if ever I saw him manifesting impatience in the future. I was deeply impressed, but I need not say that I had never any occasion to carry out what he had enjoined upon me. Had such arisen I should certainly not have hesitated—but he had gained a knowledge of his fault and it was never repeated. It must be remembered that at the time this incident occurred his Cardinalitial honours were still fresh upon him, and that I was little more than a boy who had been in his service less than a year."

Few men ever collected more money from the public than Cardinal Vaughan did, and by many he was regarded as a particularly bold and brazen beggar. It was a very mistaken notion. He was a successful beggar, but only because he had schooled himself to do with all his heart what, with all his heart, he disliked. We have seen that when, as a young man, he was setting out on his great begging expedition through Central and South America, he let his first opportunity—that of collecting from his fellow-passengers on board ship—go by, simply because he had not the courage to ask. To the end begging was always "hateful work." Once, when talking of the large

sums he had received for Westminster Cathedral, he told me that sometimes when going to call at a house, where, perhaps, he hoped to get a large donation, he would hesitate to ring the bell, and, instead, would walk around the square, or up and down the street, before going up to the door. Even when he had been admitted, and found himself in the presence of his intended victim, his heart would sometimes fail him, and he would leave without referring to the real object of his visit. In such cases, however, a second call would usually follow.

In begging for the great causes he had at heart Cardinal Vaughan naturally often had recourse to people beyond his own circle of acquaintance. Unfortunately, he had a very bad memory for faces, and a very unpleasant impression would sometimes be created when a man who, perhaps, had given him a considerable sum of money afterwards found himself treated by the unconscious Cardinal as a stranger he had never seen. This difficulty in recognising people he knew only slightly, or had not met recently, was a serious disability to a man in his position. Much of his supposed haughtiness and aloofness of manner was due to this cause, and it often gave great offence. He used to hold receptions at Archbishop's House on certain afternoons in the summer, which were largely attended by the Catholic laity. No one who had ever met Cardinal Vaughan was likely to forget him—it was not so easy for him to remember others. Sometimes at these receptions a lady would go up all eagerness to greet him, and would be met with a friendly stare and the words, "And what is your name?" The light would die out of the woman's face as she knew he had not even recognised her. He had no art to pretend to know

people, or by putting a leading question to try to find out to whom he was speaking. If he failed to remember a face he ought to have known he was frankly sorry—but it could not be helped, and that was all. And yet this inconvenient candour, which led him into so many difficulties, had its redeeming side and its own great compensations. It was just this transparent simplicity and sincerity which made intercourse with Herbert Vaughan so delightful. You consulted him on any subject and you knew the opinion he gave stood for the truth, and that there were no reservations. Cardinal Vaughan had many lovable qualities, but sincerity was at the root of them all. Certainly few men have had friends more loyal and devoted than he had, and very few have known so well how to make others share in their own high and holy enthusiasms.

Among those who had intimate opportunities of knowing Cardinal Vaughan's inner life was Father Joseph Rickaby, S.J. On two occasions, once at Stonyhurst, when Bishop of Salford, and once at St. Edmund's, when Archbishop, the Cardinal attended retreats conducted by Father Rickaby. The Jesuit writes: "On both occasions he edified me greatly, speaking to me of his soul with as much simplicity, candour, and humility as ever you could expect of a novice addressing the Master of Novices. I should sum up his character as I knew him by saying that he was a singularly *direct* man. He took means to his ends straightforwardly and fearlessly, not 'regarding the person of men and not caring for anybody,' so long as the action was right before God. Hence many thought him unfeeling—and something of this was hinted at his death —which was a great injustice. I reflected at the time

how men misunderstood him, and how I had known him better in those two retreats. He had an intense loyalty and tender personal love for Our Saviour, according to the chivalrous conception of Our Lord's character as laid down by St. Ignatius in the *Kingdom of Christ.* In fact, in his spiritual formation he was a Jesuit—certainly not in the vulgar English sense of the term—but in all I consider a Jesuit should be, knowing what life is given us for, and living up to that end directly, straightforwardly and on principle. Of course I did not see the Cardinal in his relations with others, but I suspect that a sluggardly and self-indulgent priest, a man of low ideals or no ideals at all beyond selfish purposes, would not get on with him. His ardent, generous nature looked for generosity in others—at least in priests. I shall always consider it a privilege to have known Cardinal Vaughan's soul as I did."

That the Cardinal was not popular, at least in the Westminster days, with the whole of his clergy is certain. Nor can all those who disliked him fairly be counted among the "sluggardly" and "self-indulgent." It must be remembered that for fully half his time as Archbishop his work had to be adjusted to a lowered vitality. Incapacitating weakness of health, joined to the heavy demands made upon his time by the great public controversies in which he was engaged, and such enterprises as the building of the Cathedral, left little opportunity for the ordinary work of a Bishop in the diocese. This devolved largely on others: on his Vicar-General and on his Auxiliary Bishops, first on Bishop Brindle, now Bishop of Nottingham, and then on Bishop Stanley. Inevitably to many of his priests he was a stranger. On this subject the Bishop of Amycla,

who, as his Vicar-General, did more than any man else to keep his way smooth for him, says:—

"It must be remembered that he never was a missionary priest in London in the proper sense. The everyday life of a priest with its trials and its hardships and the dreadful and constant struggle to collect and gather money to keep the mission and the schools going—of all this he had had no practical experience; and therefore he did not understand the great difficulties of the priest's life on the mission, and would order collections, for the most worthy objects, and be very severe if they did not produce good results. On this point he was very exacting, and the priests thought it a great hardship; they said, 'He seems to forget while he makes so many appeals for new works, that though these works are very admirable, still they cause money to be withdrawn from other charities, because people have only a certain amount to give, and if they give it to the new the old must suffer.' They felt that if the collections for his new works were small he was displeased, and thought they were lacking in zeal. Again, he saw very little of his clergy, and he would tell them to see his Vicar-General. This led often to what was not very pleasant. Meeting some of his priests, he would ask them where they were, what was their mission—in some cases they had been two or three years at the same mission, and were rather taken aback to find that the Cardinal did not know where they were, and they thought, 'Is this all the interest he takes?'"

These occasions of offence were to some extent incidental to the Cardinal's conception of his duty as Archbishop to the Church and the English people. His days were so filled that it was difficult for him to see much of his priests individually. On the other hand, many a priest could tell how quick he was to take an opportunity to do a kindness. On one occasion, at the time of Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill,

Cardinal Vaughan paid a visit to the clergy-house at Willesden. It was on an occasion when the Liberal leader was a guest at Dollis House. The assistant priest, aflame with the love of Ireland and regarding Mr. Gladstone as her Heaven-sent deliverer, told the Cardinal how he had waited for hours in the roadway on the off chance that he might see the great man pass. The hope had died away in disappointment. The Cardinal listened, perhaps wonderingly, at the enthusiasm of the naïve youth, but said nothing. Later in the day his carriage was ordered round, and the young priest was invited to accompany him for a drive. When the order to the coachman, "Drive to Dollis House," was given, the curate understood—the English Cardinal was taking him to see the idol of his dreams. When they arrived at their destination and were invited into the garden, the Cardinal managed to pair off with the host, and so left the Irish curate to wander through Paradise—alone with Mr. Gladstone. As a rule Herbert Vaughan got on very well with his Irish priests. He was very tolerant of political opinions that were not his own. He wanted good and zealous priests, men willing to devote their lives to work among the London poor; and if he could get that nothing else mattered very much. One eager and devoted priest, when he knew that Herbert Vaughan was to come to Westminster as Archbishop, decided to return at once to his own diocese in Ireland. The Archbishop sent for him and begged him to stay, and as a last argument said, "In Ireland they are all Home Rulers—stay here and work for Westminster, and you may have the whole of the diocese to convert."

The Cardinal's acts of kindness were sometimes as impulsive as they were unconventional. The following incident relates to the time of his last visit to Rome in the spring of 1901. It was brought to his knowledge that an old man, an Irishman, whom he had known well years before, was lying seriously ill in the Nursing Home kept by the English Sisters of the Little Company of Mary in the Via Castelfidardo. The Cardinal was warned that the case was a distressing one, because, owing to some financial worry, the patient's mind was wandering —he would lie for hours in a sort of stupor crying out at intervals for money. When the Cardinal stood by the bedside the sick man seemed hardly to know him, and refused to be comforted, and instead, as he tossed from side to side, kept moaning out the words, "Money, money —twenty pounds!" The Cardinal tried to reason with him, told him that as long as he was in the Home he could have no use for money, that the nuns would gladly nurse him back to health without payment. It was all to no purpose, and the same impatient cry for "twenty pounds" went on continuously. When at length the Cardinal returned to the guest-room he learned that, on the whole, the doctors took a hopeful view, and thought the case would gradually yield to time and treatment. But Herbert Vaughan wanted a quicker way. He listened, and for answer asked for pen and paper. He then wrote out a cheque for £20 and told the nuns to give the gold without delay to the sufferer. It is pleasant to be able to add that the remedy was so far efficacious that the patient fell into a refreshing sleep that night, and was afterwards able to leave the Home.

The Cardinal was frequently a guest at Llanforda Hall. Mr. Longueville writes:—

"Nothing could exceed his gentleness and kindness to laymen, but I always used to think that priests seemed afraid of him. Once when he was staying with me when he was Bishop of Salford, I asked the parish priest during luncheon when he was going to take his holiday. The poor man blushed violently, looked very uncomfortable, and muttered vaguely. After luncheon he came to me and said in a tone of tearful reproach, 'What made you ask me when I was going for my holiday? Don't you know that Dr. Vaughan thinks that priests ought never to take holidays?' And yet Dr. Vaughan was not his Bishop. At one time or another many priests have honoured me with visits, but never have I known any priest to spend so much time in the Chapel before the Blessed Sacrament as did Cardinal Vaughan. As long as he had that he wanted nothing else. In my humble and uncomfortable little iron chapel, and, like other iron chapels, very hot in summer and very cold in winter, he used literally to spend hours. He cared nothing whether peer or peasant or any one else were invited to meet him; it was nothing to him whether interesting books or the latest newspapers, or any books or papers at all, were provided for him; and as to food, he cared not what it was; it even seemed as if he did not care whether he had any. His one want was to kneel or sit before the Blessed Sacrament, generally without any book in his hand and for as long a time as was available from necessary duties."

Mr. Grisewood, with whom at his villa at Grasse the Cardinal spent six weeks in 1897, says: "Two things struck me specially during his visit with us. First, his habit of prayer, and, second, his very complete mastery over his tongue. He never omitted an hour alone with God every evening from six to seven. 'You can come to me when you like,' he would say, 'only try and

leave me alone from six to seven.' At seven he joined us in our oratory to say the Rosary."

For some years before the Cardinal's last illness he used generally to spend a few weeks in the summer at Derwent Hall. Scattered through his letters are many allusions to these visits, and to the great benefit he derived from them. On one occasion he says: "I came down here [Derwent Hall] rather a wreck; but the air, the peace, and the goodness of the place and the people, who have been so kind to me, have given me another lease of life." Lady Edmund Talbot, his hostess, says: "His life seemed to be divided between prayer and work. He disliked any ceremony and he was treated just as an ordinary guest. He lived his own life and did what he liked. He had a sitting-room of his own which opened on to the garden; there he remained most of the day reading and writing. His mind was never off his work, the Cathedral, or his schemes and his prayers for the salvation of souls, and he was generally preparing something for the Catholic Conference in the autumn. He said his Mass at 7.30 or earlier every morning; he generally spent about an hour before his Mass in the Chapel. I often noticed as he passed through the sacristy how absorbed he was in God, and how nothing seemed to distract him. After hearing the Mass which followed his own, he had his breakfast, then as a rule he went to his room to work, or he would stroll into the garden to read his letters or say his Office, and now and then he discussed some business with any one who happened to be interested in any of his schemes. After luncheon he always said Matins and Lauds, generally walking up and down the garden, after which he worked

in his room till 4.30 or 5, when he went out for a walk —sometimes he wandered alone on the hills, when he generally took a spiritual reading-book with him, and sometimes one of us went with him. He loved the hills at Derwent. I think he liked being there, and he enjoyed the scenery and the sunsets, but he was incapable of being amused. I think it was impossible for him to *recreate;* his conversation was always on his work, his projects for God's honour and glory, or on spiritual subjects. When alone with him we had only to turn him on to spirituality, or the Love of God, and his conversation flowed. What specially struck me was his keen and vivid and untiring *interest* in spiritual things, and in what affected his work. He would talk for ever on prayer and the Love of God. On his return from his walk he went to the chapel and remained there for an hour, often more, till the dinner-bell rang. The Angelus rang at 6, and a few minutes afterwards he would say rather impatiently, 'Let's turn back and go and pray,' as if he was panting for the moment when he could go to the Blessed Sacrament. He used to remain there, kneeling or sitting, and he told me he used the '*Miserere*' and a book on '*Humility of Heart*,' which he had used for years, and which he had translated a short time before he died.

"At this hour he also said his Rosary. After dinner he remained a short time with us, and then we recited the Rosary in the chapel, after which the Cardinal went straight to bed.

"As a Spiritual Director one felt that the Cardinal was straight, direct, simple, and to the point. Everything he said or advised was *practical;* there were no spiritual fire-

works, and one felt and knew that his one object was to draw you more and more to God. He would take endless trouble if he could induce one to love God more, and the basis of all his direction seemed to be the Love of God and humility. He used to say, 'Humility is a gift. We cannot of ourselves be humble, and therefore we must pray and beg and implore of God to give us this great gift. Prayer without humility is useless: the great thing is to know ourselves and to be humble of heart.

"The Cardinal has been accused of being unsympathetic; this is true in a way, his idea being that all trials come from God, and are a means of drawing you to God. He was inclined to be rather hard as to the ordinary trials and worries of everyday life. This was not the case, however, in great trials and anxieties. Then he was most sympathetic and affectionate; his whole heart went out to one, and there was nothing he would not do to help and console you, no trouble that he would not take to help you and comfort you, even when he was ill. But in trial and trouble and sorrow his object was to induce you to go at once to God, to put you, as it were, into God's arms, and to force you to take all your sorrow to Our Lady and Our Lord, because he knew that your only consolation lay with them. His anxiety to get you to see this and to realise it was quite touching, and it made a lasting and deep impression on many. He seemed to feel that a soul called to suffer much was essentially a soul much loved by God, and he therefore took endless pains and trouble to point this out and to persuade you to see everything in this light."

In paying these long visits to the Blessed Sacrament, while staying as a guest in country houses, the Cardinal was only continuing his ordinary routine at home. In

regard to prayer his habits were always regular, and were much the same in Westminster as they had been in Salford. There was meditation and Mass and thanksgiving in the morning, while in the evening one, and often two, hours were spent in prayer before the Tabernacle. He would kneel in the darkness, forgetful of everything except that he was in the presence of God. His practice of saying ejaculatory prayers during the day and at all times was well known—it had become a habit.

The Cardinal's ordinary tastes were as simple as they well could be. The pleasures of the table made small appeal to him. He had a good appetite and ate quickly, as though it were a troublesome duty which had to be got through with as small an expenditure of time as possible. His brother, Mgr. John Vaughan, now Bishop of Sebastopol, says: "I have seen him again and again, when Bishop of Salford, coming into the refectory at St. Bede's College for breakfast when all the rest had done. On such occasions he never troubled to ask for fresh things, but would drain the tepid teapot into his cup, while he glanced over the *Manchester Guardian* or *Courier*." Both at St. Bede's and when a Cardinal he used to dine at the Community table, and, till his health gave way, always carved for the whole company. It was a form of public service and he liked doing it. At Archbishop's House, as in Manchester, he occupied two small rooms, barely and poorly furnished and without carpets. Others might find such conditions incompatible with the highest efficiency in work; the Cardinal thought them bracing. Sometimes exaggerated reports would get abroad as to the austerities of the Cardinal's household. This was specially the case when he first took up his

residence in the present Archbishop's House, then still in a very unfinished condition. Among those who feared that he was suffering from actual privation was the Mother-General of the Sisters of Nazareth. She therefore sent him as a gift a sum of money which she hoped he would feel free to use towards furnishing his own room. The following letters tell their own tale :—

"My dear Child,—The idea of 'no fire and no door' has not a little amused me. The house is full of fires and doors, and we are quite comfortable. The entrance-hall door and corridors and other parts of the house are still unprovided, but we are very happy in spite of it all. Money will come in in time, and then I shall be able first to finish the Library, and get the books out of the boxes in which they are very uncomfortable and spoiling."

"I am obliged for your letter, prayers, and good wishes. The bank-note I will keep for the present, but I hope to spend nothing on my room, and will use it in another way. But I must really give you a positive order not to send me any more money, but to use all you get in your own great work of charity. I hope Mother Augustine is better. I pray for her—such a life is needed ; one like mine, worn out and seventy, is no more required, and begins to get in the way of good rather than to promote it. God bless you all."

"It is too good of you to send me so many nice things —send me no more—these will last me till my death. I am sorry to hear you have been so constantly on the Cross. If we were entirely supernatural perhaps I should be saying that I am very pleased to hear of it. Certainly there is nothing better on earth than the Holy Will and the Cross of Christ."

"Please not to send me any more money. You ought to have a scruple in doing so, considering your pressing needs. I have a great mind to send the hat back, with an obedience to you to wear it yourself for a week. It fits me perfectly, and I thank you for it very much. I told Mgr. Dunn that my old hat would last my time, and so did not get another in Paris. But you are praying me into better health, and so keeping me out of Purgatory and Heaven. God bless you."

If one may judge by appearances, very little of this money was ever spent on any part of Archbishop's House. In the Cardinal's desk his executors found a small canvas bag filled with gold, with a label on which he had written, "To be returned to Nazareth House after my death." He had been unwilling to hurt the feelings of the nuns by sending the money back at the time, and yet did not want to spend it on himself. He knew that when he was dead they would understand. Among his papers was found a memorandum written eight days before his death, referring to this money: "In my small tin box containing will there will be found several sums of money which I never considered my own, but had the use of. In the box are seventy or eighty sovereigns to be restored to Mother-General, Nazareth House, with my affectionate regards and blessing. She was always too generous. The rest of the money can go to charitable purposes."

Any one who knew him could tell of his quiet, unaffected way of living, of his impatience of anything like luxury or ceremony, and his disregard even for the ordinary comforts of life. One instance within my own experience may serve as a sample of many. He was going to stay for a few days with my father at Broxwood Court. He was coming

from the North and I from London, and we had arranged to meet at Hereford and go on together by the local train. When I arrived he was not on the platform, and I looked into a line of carriages without seeing him. I walked back along the platform—there was one carriage into which I had hardly looked—it was filled with soldiers, and thick with tobacco smoke. In the corner at the far side was Herbert Vaughan, quietly reading his Breviary. When I had got him into another compartment I could not help saying, "Do you always travel in that way?" He answered, "Oh, well, I always think third class is good enough when one is travelling for pleasure." And then he added with a smile, "You know, this is quite a pleasure trip."

Two sentences from a letter to his butler at Archbishop's House, who had just lost his wife, may serve to show how the Cardinal could think of both worlds: "You have many consolations in the thought that she was well prepared, that she has suffered her Purgatory, at least in part, that she is with God, and that the trials and risks of this life are for her things of the past, that she can assist you all before the throne of God by her prayers. . . . You may need a little extra assistance, and I have therefore written to Mgr. Johnson to give you £25 extra."

Never in his busiest days in Westminster did Cardinal Vaughan forget the flock he had left in Salford. He was fond of speaking of himself as a Lancashire Bishop, and always thought the Lancashire people the salt of the English earth. More than once I have heard him say that every time he went north he seemed to feel that as the climate was getting colder the people's hearts were getting warmer. His attachment to Manchester, and Manchester

men, and Manchester institutions, betrayed itself in all sorts of curious and unexpected ways. For instance, if he wanted a pastoral or a pamphlet published, he would send it to a Manchester printer. At the breakfast-table at Archbishop's House he would read his old favourite, the *Manchester Guardian*—a day old. On one occasion his partiality for this paper nearly led him into a strange indiscretion. In the autumn of 1898 all England was thrilled by the publication of the Fashoda despatches. Lord Salisbury had left it to France to choose whether to withdraw from the Nile valley or to fight. But the *Manchester Guardian*, in a series of very able articles, had combated Lord Salisbury's policy and represented him as seeking to fasten a quarrel on the French Republic. The Cardinal read the articles, and the more he thought of the tremendous issues at stake, of what such a calamity as a war between England and France would mean for both countries, the more urgent it seemed that every man should do what he could to avert the catastrophe. If it were true that the English Minister was abusing his advantage or snatching at an opportunity to force France to fight, under pain of public dishonour, the voice of the Catholic Church ought to be heard in protest. He told several of those about him at Archbishop's House that he had made up his mind that it was his duty to intervene, and that he meant to make a public appeal to the sanity of the nation to stop Lord Salisbury. He met with scant sympathy from those of his own household. On the contrary, earnest representations were made to him begging him not to take action in a matter which in no way officially concerned him, about which he was probably only imperfectly informed, and in regard to which any ill-

considered action might compromise the whole Catholic world. Priests and several influential laymen united to deprecate anything in the nature of a public manifesto. The Cardinal listened to all the advice, and set it aside —he thought that England was in the wrong, and that Lord Salisbury was pressing an advantage to the verge of war. He intimated that his mind was made up.

It was then that a silent, persistent man, the private secretary at Archbishop's house for forty years, the late Bishop Johnson, resolved to speak. Fluent men had failed, but the need was urgent and the silent man must try. He went to the Cardinal's room late at night and was refused admittance, but he would not be denied. The Cardinal had gone through a great deal that day and he thought to dismiss his secretary with the fewest words. But he found to his astonishment that the silent man could talk and even remonstrate, and meant to argue. The Cardinal listened while his secretary told him that he had no right to compromise Catholic interests by taking action on the strength of what might prove to be a merely partisan presentment of the case. But the Cardinal's patience had touched the breaking-point, and, rising from his chair, he pointed to the door, and said sternly, "Go out, Johnson, go out." The Bishop, as he afterwards told me, backed slowly to the door, still repeating his remonstrance ; it was only when his foot was on the threshold that he heard the Cardinal say in another tone, "God bless you, Johnson—but leave me alone." The Bishop had left the field, but he left it victorious. The Cardinal's letter to the *Times* was put back into his desk that night and the next morning it was destroyed.

In a private letter written by the Bishop of Newport, a

few days after the Cardinal's death, I find these words : "It is sickening to see the newspapers saying he was not intellectual." To those who know the Bishop of Newport that sentence will stand for much. Certainly, what seemed the Cardinal's most obvious limitations were the result, not of any want of mental power, but rather of a wilful indifference to interests which lay outside the sphere of his duties. He had a wide and profound knowledge of most branches of ascetical literature, but his busy life left him no time to specialise. To keep himself familiar with current controversies and the general literature of the day he thought one of the duties of his position. But his heart was in his own immediate work, and he had no real interests outside it. He used sometimes to say, "I am too stupid to take an interest in anything outside my work." His time for reading had to be snatched out of the day, and when the hours of active duty were over the claims of the Chapel, where the Blessed Sacrament was silently waiting, were paramount. With the mental attitude which tends to Liberal Catholicism, or even with the intellectual difficulties and perplexities which in every age must arise out of the difference between Science and Revelation, the Cardinal had no natural sympathies. His instinct was to put such problems aside with impatience. For him the position of Revelation was too secure to make it a matter of urgency to consider how her teaching could be reconciled with this or that scientific discovery. This sort of one-sidedness might have been a serious disqualification—as almost a sort of spiritual deafness to the cries of souls in distress—had it not been accompanied by a compensating charity which made full amends. That a man should make shipwreck of his faith was a calamity

which Cardinal Vaughan would have done anything to avert. So a doubt or a difficulty, which personally he would have never stayed to consider, at once became a matter of absorbing and poignant interest to him when he saw it was a cause of real trouble to others. Then he would spare no pains to get official explanations or to secure the most competent advice, or to find the theologian the most fitted to deal with the particular case.

Sometimes it was Rome itself which seemed to throw a stumbling-block in the path of the faithful. One instance of the pains the Cardinal would take to remove misunderstandings may be cited. In January, 1897, the Holy Office affirmed that the authenticity of the text of the "Three Heavenly Witnesses," or the *Comma Johanneum*, could not be safely denied or called in question.[1]

It was a point which had been disputed for the best part of a century. Cardinals Wiseman and Franzelin had both defended the authenticity of the passage, but such authorities as Scholz, Bisping, Kaulen, and Schunz had maintained the opposite view. In recent years the balance of scholarship had seemed to be altogether against the authenticity of the text. Canon Gore, writing to the *Guardian*, said:—

"The Encyclical on Holy Scriptures tied Roman

[1] "In Congregatione generali, S.R. et U. Inquisitionis habita coram Emis. ac RR. DD. Cardinalibus, contra haereticam pravitatem generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito dubio: Utrum tuto negari, aut saltem in dubium revocari possit esse authenticum textum S. Joannis, in epistola prima, cap. 5, vers. 7, quod sic se habet: 'Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt'? omnibus diligentissimo examine perpensis, praehabitoque DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. Cardinales respondendum mandarunt: 'Negative.'"

Catholics to an impossible view of inspiration. They are now tied to a repudiation of even the most moderate approach towards textual criticism—that is to say, to an acceptance of a passage as an authentic part of St. John's Epistle which is not contained in any Greek manuscript previous to the use of printed books, or in any ancient version, including the Vulgate as it came from Jerome; and which was not known to any of the Greek Fathers or the earlier Latin ones. It was, in fact, a gloss upon the text of St. John (the sense of which it manifestly interrupts) which apparently accidentally passed into some Latin MS. and spread over Latin Christianity. It is probably first cited as a text of St. John by the Spanish heretic, Priscillian. Is not this only the latest of many evidences that those of us who love both Catholicity and truth have no other possible home than the Church of England with all her defects?"

To some Catholics even, unfamiliar with the procedure of the Roman Tribunals, the reply of the Holy Office came as a grave difficulty. Learning something of the state of things from Mr. Wilfrid Ward, the Cardinal at once did all that was possible to relieve the situation. It would have been easy for him to write reassuringly upon his own authority pointing out that the decision in question was only disciplinary and intended to prevent the faithful from having a new opinion put before them as if it were part of the safe and authorised public teaching of the Church. The Cardinal did much more. Writing from Rome to Mr. Ward, he says: "I have ascertained from an excellent source that the decree of the Holy Office on the passages on 'The Three Witnesses,' which you refer to, is not intended to close the discussion as to the authenticity of that text. The field of Biblical criticism is not touched by this decree. But it is not to be denied that the text has a certain theological value, nor is it

certain that critical research, even as to this text, has reached its last word. Whatever may be said to the contrary, it is quite certain that the Holy See desires to encourage Biblical research and has no fear of really learned and wise criticism. But, as you know, there exist critics and pedants who recognise no law but themselves and claim a monopoly of wisdom and accuracy. If you like to publish the above as having been written from Rome you may do so if you think it useful. I have been urgent in this matter and have written strong letters to the H. O. and taken other measures. These will come out later." Among the further measures referred to was an article on the subject in his own newspaper, which reduced the whole incident to its proper proportions. After referring to the purely disciplinary nature of the decree the article went on to show that it was clearly not necessarily final :—

"The doubts which existed as to the consistency of an opinion with Faith may be cleared away. They may disappear in view of what, in the technical language of the Roman Congregations, is called 'fresh evidence' or 'results of recent research' (*noviter deducta*). Moreover, what in a given stage of public opinion might be a fruitful source of perplexity, mischievous misconception, unsettling, and disedification might, in altered circumstances and with the progress of fuller understanding and more widely diffused information, be entirely devoid of any such risk or danger. Safety of teaching means not merely the objective safety of the opinion itself, but the subjective safety as considered in its effect on the minds of those to whom it is taught. In this sense teaching which may be decidedly unsafe in one period may later on, in altered conditions, prove to be perfectly safe and allowable. Hence prohibitions which are purely regulative and disciplinary are by their very nature reformable,

and, as every Catholic knows, are not unfrequently withdrawn by the Holy Office, or allowed to lapse by its sanction and permission."

As a writer of popular manuals of devotion and instruction Cardinal Vaughan was very successful. It was a task for which his simplicity of style and directness of thought admirably fitted him. Some of his little books sold at a penny have had an extraordinary and lasting popularity. Among the most successful were "What is the Mass?" "Who is St. Joseph?" "The Meaning of the Scapular," "The Most Profitable Way."

Cardinal Vaughan was an excellent linguist. He could converse with fluency in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish —the latter he spoke almost like a native. At one time he knew German also, but had forgotten it in later years. As a companion he was delightful and inspiriting. He had travelled far and had a wide knowledge of men and things. He had quick sympathies, and his eager spirits and contagious enthusiasms were enough to fire the blood of the dullest. The spirit of romance and high adventure which had so shaped his early career never wholly faded, and he had a wonderful fund of stories about his life among the pioneers in California, or his rides across the Pampas, or journeys among the planters and negroes of the Sugar States. Perhaps it was only the want of suitable opportunities which prevented him from adding to the tale of adventures. Shortly before he became Archbishop he went down to visit a Convent some miles from Chelmsford, for Cardinal Manning. When he arrived it was already dusk. The bell remained unanswered—he understood that he was not expected. Dismissing his cab, he threw his handbag over the en-

closure wall, and then managed to clamber up and let himself down on the other side. But approaching the Convent, he saw that all the lights were out and the whole place asleep. He was unwilling to arouse and perhaps frighten the nuns, and yet reluctant to leave his errand undone. Looking around, he saw a sort of outhouse where garden tools were kept; in one corner was a big heap of potatoes. Wrapping his big Roman cloak about him the Bishop lay down upon the potatoes and slept soundly. When he awoke, the nuns, who had gone to bed with the sun and risen with the dawn, were duly surprised to see their early visitor. The Cardinal used to say that for the rest of the day it seemed as though every one of those potatoes had left each its own particular little imprint stamped into his back.

On one occasion, after he was Cardinal, he arrived unannounced on a Sunday morning in Hitchin. At that time there was no Catholic church there and Mass was said for a handful of people in an upper room of a small house by a priest who came from a distance. On that particular morning the priest discovered at the last moment, when the little congregation had all assembled, that there were no altar breads. It was a horrible discovery, for without altar breads there could be no Mass. At that moment there was a sharp knock at the door, and then there entered the Cardinal Archbishop. If there had been any convenient opening in the earth to cover him and his confusion, no doubt the priest would have welcomed it. The Cardinal wasted no words. He knew what was wanted and what he could do, and for the rest was quiet and practical. Looking into the room where the people were waiting

for Mass, he saw one lady he knew. Beckoning to her he told her quietly what had happened, and added, "Go and ring up any baker you can find and bring back a cup of flour. I will have a fire and water boiling when you return." The lady came back successful, and the Cardinal himself mixed the flour and water in the pan and made the altar breads.

Herbert Vaughan had a great dislike for excuses or evasions or for compliments which he thought unreal, and indeed for anything like artificiality in either language or conduct. He was apt to construe too literally words or expressions which were only conventional. On one occasion, when Bishop of Salford, he was going to stay at Rotherwas, the seat of the late Mr. Bodenham, but on getting out of the train found that owing to some mistake there was no one to meet him. He took his handbag and started off for a walk of a couple of miles. It was a hot summer's afternoon and he had gone something over half a mile when he was met by Mr. Coventry Patmore, who happened to be one of the house-party. After the first greetings, Patmore, with eager politeness, begged to be allowed to carry the bag. Herbert Vaughan at once assented and Coventry Patmore carried the bag for the rest of the way. Telling the story long afterwards, the improvised porter observed grimly, "But Bishops should not let poets carry bags."

The Cardinal had no patience with literary mystifications of any sort, and to say the truth was easily their victim. I well remember on one occasion, early in 1902, going into his room and noting that he was in a state of unusual animation. The reason was quickly apparent —he had in his hand a copy of Montgomery Carmichael's

Life of William Walshe. His face was radiant with enthusiasm as he held the book up and asked me if I knew it. I answered that I had read it and thought it a splendid piece of work. "It is the most glorious book that has come out for years," he said, and went on breathlessly to tell of the man's wonderful spiritual experiences, of his ecstasies, of the graces he had had from Heaven—and then I knew. Speaking half to himself he continued, "And he came from Manchester; his father was the head of a Manchester firm—strange I was Bishop there for twenty years and never even heard the name." It was hateful work, but he had to be told. I asked him whether he was sure the book had reference to real persons. He looked at me a moment as though not understanding the question, and then said slowly, "Do you mean that the whole thing is a forgery?" I could only say, "Well, yes—in the sense that *Robinson Crusoe* and *An Englishwoman's Love Letters* are forgeries." He asked whether I was certain, and then said simply, "I have recommended the book for spiritual reading to several people as the life of a Saint." It was a bad disappointment, but of one thing I am very sure—in that moment of disillusionment no thought that he might perhaps cut a foolish figure in the eyes of the friends to whom he had so recommended the book ever so much as crossed his mind. To have pleaded that the book had still its own value as a fine piece of imaginative literature, that its sympathetic insight into spiritual problems assuredly was the result of experiences that must have been very real, would at that moment have seemed only a mockery.

People of our generation do not need to be reminded

that Cardinal Vaughan was one of the handsomest men of his time. His clear-cut features, his tall figure, and his splendid presence would have served to distinguish him in any assembly. We have seen how Aubrey de Vere, when he first saw Herbert Vaughan in his student days in Rome, was so struck by his appearance that he exclaimed to himself, "If you are so beautiful, what must your sister be?" The impression which the first sight of him, when he had just been made Bishop, made upon those two Paray pilgrims, Mrs. Meynell and Lady Butler, has already been noted. Another instance of the way in which he impressed strangers, and this time in later life, is given by Mr. Wilfrid Ward. Speaking of an occasion when Cardinal Vaughan was staying in the Isle of Wight as the guest of Dr. W. G. Ward, he tells how one day Tennyson, Aubrey de Vere, and a neighbour, Mrs. Cameron, the famous amateur photographer, came over to afternoon-tea at Weston Manor: "Mrs. Cameron was at that time photographing various persons to represent the characters in the *Idylls*, and I had heard her grumble at not being satisfied with her attempt at a representation of Lancelot. Face, figure, age, or expression was wrong in every candidate. As Mrs. Cameron and Tennyson entered the drawing-room together, Bishop Vaughan was standing in the glow of the winter fire, looking, as he ever did, the most knightly of priests, and Mrs. Cameron stood for a moment transfixed as Aubrey de Vere had done twenty years earlier in Rome. Then she cried out, pointing to him, 'Alfred, I have found Sir Lancelot!' Tennyson's bad sight prevented him from seeing to whom she was pointing, and he replied in loud and deep tones, 'I want a face that is well worn with human passion.' The Bishop

smiled, and the general laughter could not be suppressed."

But the Cardinal's appearance will soon be a tradition —it has left no permanent record in the art of the time. In this respect he was less fortunate than either Manning or Newman, each of whom sat to some of the greatest portrait painters of the Victorian age. There are portraits of Manning by Watts, Legros, Long, Richmond, and Ouless; and of Newman by Richmond, Millais, Ouless, and Pettie. It is difficult to imagine Cardinal Vaughan giving serious sittings for a portrait—certainly he never did. On the other hand, struggling artists or young relatives fresh from the schools were often welcome to set up an easel in his room and sketch or paint him as he worked. He knew he was doing a kindness—and if portraits done under such conditions were sometimes curious, to Herbert Vaughan that mattered very little.

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CHAPTER XII

INNER LIFE

IT was only towards the end of his life that Cardinal Vaughan had a spiritual director. He had often considered the question and anxiously weighed the pros and cons. There was the example of many saints who had sought spiritual direction, and he knew that ascetical writers generally laid stress upon its advantages; on the other hand, he felt no practical need for it himself. When in Rome he used to consult in an informal way an old Redemptorist Father, now dead, but not till 1901 had he any regular spiritual adviser. In the summer of that year he invited a Jesuit, Father Considine, to come and see him. After stating the case and saying that his one wish in the matter was to do whatever was most pleasing to God and likely to fit him for his work, and to promote the growth of personal holiness, the Cardinal asked for advice.

Premising that it was a question not of strict duty but of striving after perfection, Father Considine replied, in effect, that the weight of authority was altogether on the side of some guidance in the spiritual life, not only because we are all too near to ourselves to see our souls in the right perspective, but also because God blesses the humility which makes us have recourse to another's aid. After some further discussion the Cardinal suddenly asked Father Considine if he himself would accept the position

of which they had been speaking, and undertake the direction of his spiritual life. He explained that it was guidance outside of the Confessional that he wanted—he had already an excellent confessor and had no wish to change. In the end Father Considine consented, and it was arranged that they should meet at intervals of not less than a month. When his health allowed the Cardinal would drive down to the Jesuit House at Roehampton, and at other times Father Considine would see him at Archbishop's House.

Father Considine has put on record, for the purpose of this biography, the following impressions of the man he learned to know with such unusual intimacy. After telling in general terms of the frankness and simplicity with which the Cardinal would bare his soul, Father Considine says: "I propose with the help of the opportunities above described to attempt some sketch of the spiritual character of the Cardinal. It need not be said that I come to the subject with no slight hesitation, and after a good deal of anxious thought; indeed, I could not bring myself to approach it at all if I did not regard it as a duty not to withhold what I believe will make for God's glory and the good of His Church. I never was his confessor, and although I considered our intercourse as strictly confidential while he lived, he would not himself, I think, have sought to close my lips after his death. In any case I am about to speak of matters which were necessarily known, at least in outline, to many. And perhaps the most striking of them, his temptations against Faith in his last illness, having their origin no doubt in part in his state of bodily weakness, and having their parallel in the deathbeds of Saints, were disclosed to

others besides myself. I have been greatly helped to this decision, to keep silence no longer, by my knowledge of what I should put in the first place in any delineation of the Cardinal's nature, and that is his honesty—by which I understand his ingrained sincerity, his desire to see himself and to be seen by others exactly as he was—no better, no worse. He cherished no illusions about himself; he was aware of his limitations and conversed quite simply about them. He laid no claim to any qualities or attainments he did not possess. Above all things he loved plain dealing and plain speech, whether the outcome of it might be palatable to him or not; I am not sure that in his case this love of candour was not a part of his natural temperament, or perhaps a natural feature sanctified by grace. He had a kind of instinctive dislike for evasions, shifts, or too ingenious explanations. He would make no excuses for himself when he saw himself to blame or listen to them if offered on his behalf by another. 'No,' he would say, 'I did wrong, and it's no use pretending I did not. I can see now, although I did not so clearly see it then, that I was too hasty.' Or, 'My motives were not so disinterested as they might have been, I cannot deny it!' Nevertheless, he had no special liking, nor turn, for self-analysis; his correctness of view lay rather in its breadth than in details; in fact, he was apt to be a little impatient of them and to be fidgeted by them. His mind, although not wanting in power, specially in matters on which he felt most deeply, was not subtle or speculative. If his conscience bore witness to him that he intended well, he was apt not to trouble himself about the mischances and mistakes inseparable, he considered, from the conduct of great enterprises in this imperfect world. He had a firm belief that even

the faults and errors of a man of right will would somehow be overruled into good in the end. Of course, this did not mean that he shut his eyes to definite defects or refused to correct them if pointed out to him, only he found it difficult to focus his attention on them or adopt a plan of steady repression of them. I fancy that he would have been in sympathy with the spirit of Dr. Johnson's excuse for the metrical defects of Milton's Sonnets; 'Milton, sir, was a genius who could hew a colossus from the rock, but could not carve heads on a cherry-stone.' The Cardinal, too, found it difficult to work within the narrow limits of some small observance; he did not disdain, but he had no genius for the nicety and finish of the cherry-stones of the spiritual life.

"The Cardinal carried his frankness and directness into his intercourse with his Maker. He strove to be entirely above-board with Him, to hide nothing, even if he could, from Him whose eyes search the reins and the heart: it was a comfort as well as a duty to be open with Him, to let Him hear from one's own mouth the acknowledgment of one's guilt and promise of repentance. Common honesty seemed to require that much, and, besides, a loving son could not act otherwise towards the best of Fathers. And he expected that God would do by him in the same fashion. Indeed, it was this deep conviction of God's essential fairness and goodness, that He would not be hard on any one who honestly meant to do right, that He would overlook faults of mere human inconstancy and frailty, and pierce through these husks to the kernel of sound purpose beneath, which made him so fearless in action and so unconcerned about temporary reverses and rebuffs. He had no doubt that all would come right at

the last, let men meanwhile clamour and thwart as they pleased.

"This leads me to speak of the little account he was disposed to make of public opinion, or generally of those things which men esteem most highly. He was at heart a thoroughly unworldly man. Not that he underrated the advantages of rank and wealth; on the contrary, he was keenly alive to them, and knew how to use them for God's service; but they did not dazzle him, they could not bribe him. He admired pomp and ceremonial if displayed on some fitting occasion, because he thought even a secular function should present itself to the eye and ear as worthily and impressively as possible, but he had no vulgar love of mere tinsel and glitter as such. And of course he rejoiced greatly in the seemliness and even magnificence of God's House and of all the vestments and ornaments allotted for its use. It was a delight and a comfort to him to have been allowed before his death to make provision for the solemn chanting of the Divine Office in his own stately Cathedral. However, worldliness does not consist merely in a love of finery and show, but much more in a habit of mind which puts the interests of this life above those of the next, which, in fact, has no outlook beyond the visible world, and therefore is necessarily, in its aspirations, feelings and aims, of the earth earthy. It intrigues, overreaches, cajoles, plays a part, while professing to be sincere, but under all its disguises and through all its windings it is never noble and never ceases to be selfish. Now, diplomacy and chicane the Cardinal not only disliked, but could hardly understand; to him a thing was right or wrong, or true or false, and no juggling with words could make it otherwise. So a

course of action approved itself to him or it did not—compromises, modifications, concessions might perhaps be necessary, but nevertheless they never quite satisfied him, as involving in some sense a betrayal of the right. Hence he moved in Society and dealt with great personages of the world as his position seemed to require, but he was too sincere and simple-minded to be really at home there. When he was translated to Westminster, particularly after he had received the Cardinal's Hat, he regarded it as his duty to appear and speak in public and to meet persons of all creeds in the intercourse of familiar life. Afterwards, however, he came to think that less good was done in that way than he had hoped. His motives were misunderstood and his conduct criticised, and in his later years he withdrew almost entirely from general society and was inclined to doubt whether he had not wasted much good time on it in the past.

"His power lay in great ideas, in high thoughts which took possession of him, shaped his conduct, and found expression in his daily life, but which he was less successful in recommending by word of mouth or by the graces of personal intercourse. About the sincerity of his zeal for God's glory there can be no doubt—indeed, its very fervour seemed to become at times an obstacle to success. He yearned so ardently for the coming of Christ's Kingdom upon earth that he chafed at the barriers to it which men's passions and prejudices are setting up at every turn, and would have liked to make short work of them, to clear them out of the way at whatever cost to the susceptibilities of individuals. Thus he would outline some great plan for the spread of religious truth or for social reform; and when he had made up his mind

by what help and in what direction his scheme ought to develop he was too ready to assume that it must do so without fail, and he did not always foresee the inevitable checks it must meet, nor was he over well pleased when they in fact did occur. In his conception of ecclesiastical problems he sometimes resembled the abstract mathematician who reasons of an ideal world, and prefers to deal with bodies and movements unaffected by the actual conditions in which we live. To neglect the effect of friction—namely, the play of human weakness in one's calculations of mundane affairs—is a sure way to provoke it later on in an aggravated form. His mind, in truth, was constantly busy with projects for making the world better; and after he had been made Archbishop of Westminster and Metropolitan of England his responsibilities lay heavy upon him. When he was urged to take heart at the thought of the good work being done in London by his zealous clergy, and it was pointed out to him that the spiritual wants of his flock were attended to much more efficiently than in times gone by, he would answer that the population of London, non-Catholic as well as Catholic, was in God's eyes his flock, and that he would have to render to Him an account of their souls if he did not do what in him lay to bring them into the one true fold. His frequent invitations to Catholics to pray for the conversion of their fellow-countrymen and his foundation of the Association of Prayer for that object sufficiently prove his sense of what he believed to be his duty in this matter.

"And yet it was his misfortune, and a source of keen sorrow to him, to be often misunderstood in his attitude towards those outside the Church, specially by the

members of the High Church party. They thought him hard and unsympathetic, unwilling to make concessions when he stood firm because he saw essential principles to be at stake, and needlessly harsh in controversy when he only sought to be plain beyond any possibility of mistake. Certainly he never wilfully gave pain, and was often surprised to find that Anglicans took offence at utterances of his, or passages in his writings with regard to them, in which he had intended to be scrupulously fair. The truth is, as has already been pointed out, that he had not the gift of putting himself in an opponent's place, and he could not easily contemplate the same objects from different points of view; even to endeavour to do so had a tendency to confuse and bewilder him as it were, to throw everything out of focus for him. Then, as we are apt to disbelieve what we have had no experience of ourselves, he doubtless found it hard to realise that in the case of those not brought up in the Catholic Church complete good faith may exist alongside of glaring logical inconsistencies, and that men may for a long time believe with their whole hearts doctrines which they will afterwards recognise to be demonstrably absurd. The Cardinal was quite willing to admit the sincerity of non-Catholics as a matter of fact, but as a fact of which he could offer no adequate explanation. Perhaps it may be said that in the case of one who has always been a Catholic a very unusual flexibility and detachment of mind is required to enable him fully to enter into, and allow for, the difficulties of those less fortunate than himself. And the Cardinal's mind was not either flexible or capable of detachment in any marked degree.

"Moreover, he considered it his duty and his privilege

to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints; and while he was quite willing to rejoice in the fuller light in which the old truths may be set by modern discoveries and research, he was by temperament more inclined to be solicitous to safeguard the inheritance of faith than to take the risks of its premature or unhealthy development. Progressive though he was in practical things, he was conservative in matters of the mind and soul. He kept himself well informed of all that was going on in the world of letters and religious thought, so far, at least, as his own immediate duties were concerned, but the intellectual fashions and the newest philosophical theories of the hour, although they were not altogether without interest for him, left him singularly untouched. He dwelt in thought by preference much more in the past, with the great Saints and Doctors of old, than in the present, and he loved the memories of England while it was still Catholic, and those of the days of persecution with their long record of heroic deeds; he drew from them inspiration for himself, and he sought to impress their lesson upon the younger generation, only too apt, he considered, to forget the glorious ancestry from which they had sprung.

"A man of serious and devout mind will reveal himself unfailingly in his method of intercourse with God and His Saints. Here too, as might be expected, we find the Cardinal a lover of the old ways and a stickler for ancient traditions. He had preserved in a measure, rare in our days, that ancestral piety which is at once the distinction and the reward of the old Catholic stock which, in this country, stood firm amid all the blasts of persecution. The simple devotions of a Catholic home, the love of

Our Lord and of His Blessed Mother, a great reverence and affection for St. Joseph, her Spouse—on these his soul's life was mainly fed. He did not disdain or reject the many forms in which the Catholic sentiment expresses itself according to the varying needs or temper of the time—on the contrary, he welcomed them, if duly approved; but they were helpful to him mainly in illustrating or enforcing the only devotions to which he remained always faithful.

"It was his custom to spend an hour every night in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, and he spent it chiefly in loving converse with Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. He would address himself to Our Lord, to Our Lady, and to Our Lord's Foster-Father, singly or all together, and say out to them with reverence, but without embarrassment, whatever was in his heart. He would make acts of contrition, of thanksgiving, of confidence, of love. He would implore the Divine protection and favour, and ask for guidance in all his doubts through the intercession of the Virgin Mother and her Spouse. But that which occupied him for the greater portion of the time, and which he never found to pall, was a repetition of an act of profound self-abasement, composed by himself in terms most wounding to his self-love, recalling his many offences against the Divine Majesty and declaring his own utter vileness and emptiness of all good. When the hour was ended, he would on his knees ask the blessing of the Holy Family for himself and all his work, as in the days of his childhood he had begged his parents' blessing before retiring to rest. However distracting and anxious had been the events of the day, it seldom happened that they pursued him into this hour of recol-

lection, or that he was then troubled by fears of what the morrow might bring forth. He gladly and easily followed the advice of St. Peter, to whom he had, as is well known, a great personal devotion, and cast all his cares upon God, being persuaded that He had care of him. It was characteristic of his large open nature to trust implicitly those to whom he gave his confidence, and he had supreme confidence in God. As he prayed in the silent night before the Tabernacle of the Word made Flesh, not only did the worries of earth seem to fade away to an immeasurable distance, but all difficulties seemed to be smoothed, all sorrows assuaged, all clouds scattered. He rose from his knees with the full assurance that the Divine help would not be wanting to him amidst any hazards, and that God's cause, for which alone he cared, sooner or later must prevail.

"But it was not during prayer only that he found comfort and support in the virtues of Faith and Hope. They suggested to him and upheld him through the execution of his most daring enterprises. As soon as it became clear to him that it was his duty to build the new Cathedral of Westminster, he never hesitated or entertained any serious doubt that what God required of him He would make it possible for him to do. To a friend who asked him more than once if the providing of funds for this colossal work, and its maintenance in the future, were not a great anxiety to him, he replied simply that he had put the matter into the hands of St. Joseph, and he had never felt even a momentary misgiving since. He was, of course, perfectly aware of all the arguments which were urged against the inception of the undertaking and all the prophecies of failure which

attended its progress, and denied its future usefulness even if finished, but his trust in God never wavered. He would discuss, good-humouredly, every drawback, every discouragement, without seeking to minimise them, but also with the clear conviction that they must and would somehow be overcome. 'There must be a Catholic Cathedral in London,' he would say; 'now, if ever, is the time to build it. The arguments used against it now may be urged against it just as well any time for the next twenty years to come. I believe God wishes me to take this business in hand, and in His Name I will do so.' Thus, too, when he had employed his best efforts in arranging for the erection of a minster not unworthy of its purpose and place, he was not impatient of adverse criticism on the result in detail or in sum. A friend whom he was showing round the Cathedral before it was as yet complete owned candidly that he thought its architectural style a mistake, and the campanile, in particular, 'hideous.' The Cardinal only laughed and said, 'There are plenty of people who agree with you, although I do not myself.' No one who occupied so prominent a position and uttered his opinions so freely on the ecclesiastical questions of the hour could hope to escape personal attacks in the Press or anonymous letters. The less respectable Protestant journals vented on him, at times, the wildest abuse and the most atrocious insinuations. He was not secure against grave misrepresentations of his motives and conduct on the part even of his fellow-Catholics. But none of these things hurt him deeply, or at any rate for very long. He knew that in his assertion of the claims or the discipline of the Church he dealt hard though not unkindly blows, and

he did not complain when he was roughly handled in turn. Nor did he conceal from himself that he sometimes gave occasion for misunderstanding and soreness of feeling that might possibly have been avoided or forestalled.

"And this, perhaps, is the place in which something should be said of that impulsiveness which was characteristic of the man, and which, if a source of motive-power, served him also, it cannot be doubted, many a bad turn. Weak men are impulsive through emotion or caprice; they are the puppets of feeling, and they have no settled principles to keep them steady to any one point. But the Cardinal's impulsiveness was that of a strong man; it was the force of a determined will and deep convictions which chafed against opposition, specially if it seemed wanton or obtuse, and when so fretted discharged itself not evenly, but with sudden outburst, and almost with violence. Afterwards he would regret, not the substance of what he had said, but the manner, and would make fresh resolutions against impatience. There was no feeling, in fact, of which he was more conscious or more often took himself to task for. He would own that before receiving a deputation, or an important private interview, during which he anticipated that his temper would be tried, he would endeavour to compose himself and be on his guard against any loss of self-control, but the result did not in every case fulfil his expectations, and he would frankly and heartily admit his default.

"It is not surprising that to such a character as his the maintenance of recollection—that is, of a constant and frequent sense of the invisible world and of the Divine

Presence—was a special difficulty, and failure in it was the subject of constant self-reproach. He gave himself wholly to the subject in hand or to the person with whom he was conversing, and for the time everything else simply disappeared from view. That this absorption in ecclesiastical or secular business and neglect of explicit advertence to heavenly things was apparent only is sufficiently proved by the immediate swing back of his spirit to God as soon as the pressure of work was even temporarily relaxed. Nevertheless, he used to deplore what he considered his weakness in this matter, and sought out remedies for it in the use of ejaculatory prayers and even short visits to his private chapel, if he could escape to it for a moment after a particularly distracting interview. Towards the close of his life, as was natural, the burden of seeing many visitors and giving a careful and considerate attention to each grew heavier and more trying to his enfeebled powers of both mind and body.

"Another subject, too, which was much in his thoughts, and gave him no little anxiety at this time, was the training of the clergy, and he found time, amidst all his occupations, to set down some of his ideas upon it—chiefly, I think, because he hoped that his position and long episcopal experience would ensure for its counsels a circulation and consideration they would not otherwise obtain. Composition never came easy to him, and he shrank from the labour of it, above all in the days of his declining strength; but nevertheless he stuck manfully to his self-appointed task, and in the intervals of illness and fatigue would go forward with it painfully and slowly as long as his fingers could grasp a pen.

"It so happened, also, by God's special permission, he would himself say, that other and more serious anxieties gathered round the setting of his life. His views and action with regard to the Education Bill of 1902, whereby he in some respects made common cause with the clergy of the Established Church, gave offence to many, and he began himself to have misgivings as to their wisdom, though not as to his own perfect singleness of aim. Then at one time it seemed not impossible that a contumacious priest in his diocese should secure for himself a certain following: 'I shall be convicted in my old age of grave blunders of policy and mismanagement; and so much the better,' he would say; 'it is a good thing to be shown up before I die, and will save me a great deal of purgatory hereafter.' He would laughingly put aside any sympathy offered him on account of these troubles in the midst of the weariness of ill-health: 'Do not your professors of the spiritual life say that crosses and loss of reputation are God's gifts to His friends? Why do you come, then, to condole with me on receiving them?'"

The rest of Father Considine's memorandum, dealing, as it does, with events which immediately preceded the Cardinal's death, finds its proper place in another chapter.[1]

A word may be said here about the book to which

[1] In a memorandum, dated June 5th, 1903, a fortnight before his death, the Cardinal thus acknowledges his indebtedness to Fr. Considine: "My habit has been to take direction generally by submitting my aspirations and devotions to the best priests in authority round about me—to go to a fixed confessor in any place where I was living. This I did till the end—Mgr. Johnson, confessor in London; Fr. Henry, while I was ill at Mill Hill. In the last one or two years in London I chose Fr. Considine, S.J., to submit to him my personal projects in the spiritual way. He guided me much in the work of intercourse with God, and in generosity and liberty of spirit; but I never had occasion to make him my confessor. I derived much encouragement from his wise enlightenment."

Father Considine has referred, *The Young Priest.* The book has this special interest, that it lets us see how some of the problems which Herbert Vaughan had faced in the morning of his career appeared to him towards the close of his life. Many, for instance, have counted his costly scheme for the establishment of a Pastoral Seminary in Salford as one of his failures. Looking back across the years the Cardinal, on the contrary, in the book which lay unfinished on his desk when he died, insists on the importance of such a temporary home and training school for young priests, and urges a renewal of the enterprise, with such modifications as experience may suggest:

"The misfortune is where it becomes necessary to plunge a young priest, before the chrism is dry upon the palms of his hands, into the excessive and exhaustive occupations of the ministry in a large and under-manned mission. He has no time for study and reflection. He becomes at once absorbed in active work; and as to his own spiritual life, it drifts vaguely, and is as subject to eddying influences as a cork borne down upon the surface of a rapid stream. Scarcely less trying than this is the fate of a young priest who is subjected to the control of a Rector altogether out of sympathy with the Apostolic Spirit. Hence, no doubt, the placing of a young priest becomes a matter of great importance both to himself and to the diocese, for his whole future will probably be determined by his first years in the ministry. . . . It would be highly desirable to give to every young priest a period of at least from six to twelve months, during which he might be feeling his feet and deliberately preparing his soul by study, reading, and prayer for a life of Apostolic perfection. For this a house of pastoral theology, under some experienced priest, or apartments in the Episcopium under the eye of the Bishop, as in ages of greater faith and fervour, would be needed. But

this is by no means impossible. Experiments in this direction have been made in different dioceses during the last thirty or forty years, and if they have not been altogether successful that need not discourage us."

Father Considine has spoken of the Cardinal's remarkable indifference to the appearance of failure. May not the secret of that calmness be found in these words? "God has proved to us a thousand times over, not only by His direct instruction in the Gospels, but by the example of the Saints, that He is glorified by the good will, by the labours and sufferings, by the prayers and desire of His servants as much as by the glorious results which are so consoling when we behold them. . . . We cannot tell; we are not responsible for what happens to the seed after it has left our hand: we are responsible for having sown it, or for having withheld it through sloth, indifference, or want of faith in our mission." Time had brought no relaxation or softening in his views as to the completeness of the sacrifice which the life of a good priest involves. In his last book he quotes with approval these two sayings of St. Charles Borromeo: "Live personally in such poverty that you may be able to give for your churches, for the adornment of your altars, and for other sacred objects—not the overflow of superfluity, but the savings stolen by self-denial from your necessary maintenance." . . . "A priest having charge of souls ought not to take to his bed until after the third attack of fever."

In his busiest years of active work Cardinal Vaughan was always impatient at hearing it said that a priest might do this or that "in his own time." The conviction

represented by that impatience held to the end; in *The Young Priest* he says:

"What a priest has to guard against is this most fatal habit of considering that he is free to amuse himself when the daily sick-calls have been attended to. His time is not really his own. It belongs to his Master: he is a servant, and he has promised to serve his Master *corde magno et animo volente*. He 'must be about his Master's business.' And what an amount of business that is with which he has been entrusted!—the children, the parents, the indifferent and bad Catholics, the non-Catholics, the various works and interests connected with the mission or with souls, his own studies, sermons, catechisms, and prayers: all these form an amount of business which can never be fully discharged, even had a priest herculean strength and a constitution that needed no repose. . . . Take two priests: one fulfils his manifest obligations, and then spares himself all labour and trouble, using his time, as he says, 'for himself'—that is, spending it according to his inclination; the other considers that all his time and energy belong to Our Lord. When he has discharged his manifest obligations, he gives himself up entirely to plans and efforts for the salvation of souls. Without recklessly and blindly following methods that cannot possibly succeed, he tries many plans, and is for ever sowing the seed. He is always at work for the salvation of souls. Which of these two priests will give greater glory to God? which will have the heaviest sheaves?"

His old belief, that it is for the best that every priest should get at least once in the year some sort of holiday and change, is reflected in these pages thus:—

"Spiritually, it is good to get away from one's work for a few weeks, in order to look at it from a distance, to see its proportions, and to review the whole situation. A man then returns to his round of labours and anxieties with renewed vigour, perhaps with new lights and suggestions; at all events, he may come back with a certain buoyancy of

spirits, which is good for body and soul—all this tells upon his flock."

As a Lancashire Bishop he used to urge on his clergy the greatest possible simplicity and poverty in the arrangement and furniture of their rooms. His special dislike was to see a priest's room resembling what he would comprehensively describe as "a lady's boudoir." And that description, it may be added, was very easily earned—a few photographs, or ornaments, or a sofa would suffice. There was one luxury he thought permissible—a comfortable arm-chair. He thought that at the end of a long day a tired man might do his thinking or praying better if seated in comfort. In his last message to his young priests, while urging the advantages of learning "the art of doing without," he recognises that all men are not built on the same lines. "The other view is in favour of furnishing your private room comfortably, because you know yourself well enough to feel that if it be comfortable you will be less tempted to seek your rest and pleasure elsewhere, and that the poverty and hardness of the first view would be a hindrance to you and not a help." So let each act as his judgment directs.

With regard to the use of ardent spirits by the clergy Cardinal Vaughan's views grew steadily harder all through his life. That "it is not a sin to use them in moderation" is all that he would concede in *The Young Priest:*

"The use of spirit, by priests, *recreationis causa*, is a distinct encouragement to their use (and abuse) by others. Human respect and inclination end by overcoming a young man's better judgment when the force of example is before him. If the superiors drink, why should not

the inferiors, when they get the chance? If priests enjoying the support of one another indulge in the additional enjoyment of spirits, how much more may the priest who lives alone and has no such support seek solace and comfort from the spirit bottle? In this way, alas! innumerable priests are ruined and lost. Every one knows that drink is the bane of our flocks—the destruction of Catholic families, industrially, socially, morally, religiously. Are these good reasons for a resolution to refrain from the use of ardent spirits?"

The Cardinal was all his life too busy with affairs and, to use a favourite phrase of his, "too engrossed in external activities" to have much time for the spiritual direction of individuals. But his advice was often sought, and it was freely given as far as his opportunities allowed. Perhaps the dominant notes of his spiritual guidance were his constant insistence on the mercies of God, and on the necessity of bearing the burdens of life with cheerfulness. A few extracts from his letters may serve to illustrate his method. The following has this additional interest, that it is addressed by a son to his father: "I hope you do not allow your mind to dwell overmuch on justice and judgment. They are not subjects for your meditations. The infinite merits of the Passion and Death of Christ which belong to us, and His infinite love of us, seem to me to be the great truths which should absorb all others. A Saint who has laboured heroically in God's service all his life must plead the merits of Christ as his only adequate title to mercy and reward. I always think there is unspeakable consolation and confidence contained in this truth—that we are all saved, not by our own merits, but by those of Him who, as our Brother, came to redeem and save us by His.

Thus the innocent and the penitent have the same and an equal hope and certainty. Then, to dwell upon this truth, in preference to any other, increases our love and confidence, and love raises the soul perpetually to a higher level of holiness, while it casts out fear, even the fear of Judgment to come. I believe that even humility and contrition are much more easily and perfectly drawn out of the consideration of ourselves in the presence of Our Lord's Passion and love than out of the thought of His Judgment. Then, again, to die after a long life is better than to die after a short one. For time is the most precious gift of God after divine grace. And granted that there have been more frailties and transgressions in a long life than in a short one, there have also been more virtues. And our virtues, simply through their contact with the virtues and merits of Christ, dwarf and overtop our human frailties as the beech and the oak overshadow the coppice and the weeds of the earth. These are not views that the devil would suggest, because they speak wholly of confidence and divine love. And none is so consoling because none is so supernaturally true and certain."

The following passages are from letters addressed to a penitent who was under his direction for many years: "Work away as hard as you can and don't give yourself time for morbid thoughts. The *Imitation* says, 'Work, pray, dance, sing'—do the two former and try at the two latter, and tell me how you get on next week."

"I am sorry you have had so much anxiety and so few spiritual consolations. But charity is greater than all else. You may therefore comfort yourself with the thought that if you had less sensible comfort you have

gained a higher reward and have given greater pleasure than had you been in perfect health, peace, and quiet."

"I am much concerned to hear that you have had a warning. I trust it may be only a distant one and that you will get quite strong again with the summer. You are in the hands of God, and I know not where else I could wish you to be. The more I live and learn the more vividly does this truth impress itself upon my mind. What matter where or what, provided we are united to God by love and conformity to His will?"

"For your Lent try and be bright and cheerful under all trials—and say the seven Joys and Sorrows of St. Joseph all the month of March."

"You cannot do what you could some years ago—we all get old and rusty by degrees and cannot work as we once could. You should try and keep your mind in as peaceful and joyful a state as possible, finding peace and joy in the Divine Will, which is always near and dear to us. If you are weak and unwell you will need this holy joy all the more—the '*Gloria in excelsis*' is full of it—and every saint's life and almost every spiritual book has reference to this peace and joy which should cheer us under the most trying circumstances."

"Go on quietly with Lent, eating and drinking all you need and not *worrying* about prayers or anything. Read a little more and make a few more aspirations during the day. Ask God to visit your heart and to live in it—and do not expect to *feel anything*. God does not come to the feelings which are of the body, but to the soul."

"Take care of yourself in this savage weather. Be

as joyful with God as you can; offer yourself constantly to Him through the hands of His Mother. This exercise will be very profitable to you as well as pleasing to Our Lord. He does not require great things of us, but He requires the offering to Him of what we are."

"You ask me to send you some thought to help you. The thought which ought to be constantly before us is just this: that Our Lord is our model and our Friend. You must excite a constant and loving desire in your heart to imitate Him in all things, by conforming your life and actions to what you think He would wish. This is not so difficult a thing to do; you have only to say, What should I do or say if Our Lord were present before me? Do now what you would do if you saw Him. Then you have to become like Him crucified. This you may become by accepting all the sufferings of mind, heart, or body which He sends and wills that you should endure. Here is plenty of opportunity to become like Him, to become, with Christ, nailed to the Cross. Sufferings, people of the world and those who live in the natural order consider to be evils, but the servants of the Cross hold them to be essential to perfection. The consequence of this is that we ought to appreciate and love sufferings, and whenever we suffer to say *Deo gratias*. If each time you feel some pain, or are in a state of distress in mind or heart, you say *Deo gratias* with sincerity you will find that sufferings will appear in quite a different light to you. In this way you will become before death like Christ crucified."

As a rule his advice was severely practical. Sometimes, however, it took a more mystical turn. Writing to one who had placed herself under his direction he

says: "You wear a large crucifix because you—want it for *actual use.* It is not a mere object of piety, like a medal or a pious picture. It is for you. It is to be, night and day, your inseparable companion. We both of us know something of what this means. Besides often feeling its pressure and remembering Whose blessed pressure it is you feel, you will often hold it in your hand when, for instance, you lie awake at night. Often you will raise it to your lips to kiss Him with all the ardour of your love. And at other times you will press Him to your heart, meaning thereby to effect the union of your soul to His. All this will be your habitual treatment of Him. But from time to time we must have a real feast with our crucified Lord. Thus begin: (1) Truly the Lord was in this place and I knew it not. (2) What shall I give the Lord for all He has given me? (3) I will speak to the Lord though I am but dust and ashes. Then take your crucifix in your hand and deal with each wound. Wound of the Feet, torn and bleeding, work of my sins towards Feet that have followed me in order to possess me. Now hold your crucifix before your eyes and look steadily upon Him. Say to Him, 'You are here helpless before me, Feet nailed so that you cannot escape, Hands nailed so that you cannot wave me off, or strike me for my sins. You have desired Your Church to represent You in this condition before my eyes. You have wished me to own this Crucifix, and to treat with You as my possession. I carry it always about with me. And now I will look upon You and treat with You without fear, speaking to You of all I feel.' I leave His hands and His feet to betake myself to that Heart which He

leaves all unprotected, all open. He does not cover It even with one hand: both are nailed so that access to the Heart may be absolutely mine. Adorn this Heart by acts of love, pour your soul and all its powers into His Soul. Reflect on this truth: 'He who loves becomes identified with the one he loves, so that a friend is called an *Alter Ego*.' This is true between Jesus Christ and my soul. He becomes identified in a sense with me, because He loves me. I become identified with Him in so far as I love Him. But there is more than this, my poor human love is not worthy of Him. He knows that, I also know it. I have therefore constantly implored of Him to give me the gift of this Divine love. He has given it. With this gift from above, with this supernatural love, I will give to Him a worthy gift of love. He gives me His love. I give Him in return the Divine love He has bestowed on me, with all my poor being taken up and enriched by His love. Think well over this truth, it is impossible to come to the end of it. Kiss His Heart with all the affection and earnestness of your soul. Your sufferings are now one with His.

"Then having loved and adored and thanked Him, remember that you have a work to do for Him. You are joined to the Apostles, you are sent to save souls; you have a mission such as Mary had for dependants and others, seeing what good you can do for them. If there be love there will be ingenuity to do them good. Beyond the domestic cares and duties there is your mother's work for the Church in England, the particular call and grace Our Lord has given to your soul to pray and help and suffer for the one who has

the heaviest responsibilities and the greatest need. All this must be the object of petition to Jesus Christ. You must go forth to your work from His Heart—that is your starting-point, and all the work is to be His work. Call upon Mary—think of the words, 'Tell her that I love her, and if she be faithful I will be always near her.' Ask her to offer up your prayers, your desires to her Son.

"Another time, holding out your Crucifix, with hands and feet nailed, make a convention or compact with Him, thus: 'Let us understand each other, let our love and communion be expressed also in this way, viz., whenever I inhale the air I desire to inhale Thy love—and whenever I breathe or exhale I desire to breathe into You my love. Thus day and night we shall be in constant and active communion and growth of love. And if this cannot be as I wish, then do You, O Lord, do something better for me, and teach me to do something better for You. For You are accustomed to improve our petitions and to lead us right.' This thought, if dwelt upon, may be useful to you, as it is to me during the day.

"Then kiss the precious wounds which are of our making. 'But, O Lord, I will not kiss Your sacred Face—never will I venture thus, but I will wait until I see You in Heaven and then You will do what You will. Meanwhile Your Feet and Hands and Heart are mine.' When St. Francis was entering into His Heart, the arm of Our Lord is represented as coming down from the Cross and embracing him. 'So, O Lord, let it be with me, in some little way, for at least I ardently desire to love Thee.' All our prayers, all we have, we incessantly offer to Jesus through the hands

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of Mary. We never separate the Woman from the Son. She has been too much for us, we have known and felt too much ever to forget that she is close to us in all our prayers and efforts to grow 'into the likeness' of her Son. But you should sometimes devote a good and deliberate exercise to her in connection with the Crucifix. Thus, reflect that she participated in the whole of her Son's agony, especially on the Cross, against which she stood. That agony and death were on my account, to atone for my sins, to obtain for me a treasury of grace and blessings illimitable and infinite in extent and worth. But at what a cost to God! Now Mary's heart and mind and desire beat in perfect unison with her Son's towards me. She became my Mother, brought me forth in untold pain and agony of mind and soul. Mother at what a cost! Mother with what a love, Mother close to, almost nailed to the Crucifix—

> 'O come and mourn with me awhile,
> See Mary calls us to her side;
> Jesus our God, Jesus our Love is crucified.'

"Now speak to her for your own wants and desires—for your mission, for God's glory, for souls, &c. She will teach us better than any other how to use our Crucifix. Hear Mass with her, tell her your names—Pride, Covetousness, Lust, Anger, Envy, Sloth, Weakness, and Ignorance. 'My Mother, if you will not have pity on one who bears such names you have ceased to be the Refuge of Sinners and the Comfort of the Afflicted. But you are my Queen and my Mother, and I am convinced that you will do great things for me in time and in eternity.'"

From letters addressed to another of his spiritual children are the following:—

"We are poor sticks, poor instruments, but then we are *His* sticks, His instruments and agents; and as long as we can keep our mind on that fact we shall be blessed and happy.

"I do not know what St. Joseph will do for me this month. I get something every year from him in March—perhaps it is this retreat and death—perhaps something else. But humility, zeal for souls, love for Our Lord one can ask for absolutely, come what may. I am using '*Who is St. Joseph?*' daily and his Joys and Sorrows. I send it to you in case you may care to join in. Don't overdo your strength, but keep enough to go on with for years. You have to keep to the Ladies of Charity and their work for the children especially. It is always pleasant to know that one has the approval of one's friends, and it is often useful; but we are of such foolish nature that one has carefully to watch for the appearance of sprouts of vainglory."

Again he wrote on prayer:—

"Words are but scaffoldings which are of value for the help they give; but when not helpful, they are useless. I know a priest who, for the whole of Lent, meditated on the words '*Jesus autem tacebat.*' So use your '*Miserere*' and never think it necessary to finish it. When the mind and heart are united with God nothing more in the way of prayers or words is needful."

"Go on peacefully bearing dryness or whatever Our Lord may send. Under such trial you will find encouragement both in the Agony in the Garden, and in the words spoken in the Agony on the Cross."

"Do not force your mind as though by dint of striking flint you could obtain a light. Read on quietly, with plenty of '*Deo gratias*' and '*Fiat Voluntas Tua.*'"

"St. Francis of Sales had a wise maxim in respect to the ways of God—'Ask for nothing, and refuse nothing.' You are not to ask for trials, crosses, humiliations, but to leave that to Him. If He sends them you are to accept them with a loving submission, without reserves, without curiosity, and without murmuring at the action of God in His Will."

"The ready '*Deo gratias*' in suffering is worth more than the mind can measure. You are to be at *peace* in the arms of God. The 4th Psalm says, '*In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam, quoniam tu, Domine, singulariter in spe constituisti me.*' You rest in peace in His arms because He infuses into the soul in a singular manner the virtue of hope or confidence in His dealings with the soul. This confidence Our Lord alluded to when He said that 'Unless ye become as little children ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.' And again the Holy Ghost says in the Psalms, 'Commit thy way to the Lord, and trust in Him, and He will do it.' He is visibly guiding you, carrying you in the arms of His affection."

"Try to see the Divine Will and to live and accept it wherever it manifests itself, attaching yourself to the Will which sometimes sends pleasant and sometimes painful things. We are not to attach ourselves in any way to the things, but to the Hand that gives them to us. In this way you will become more and more one with God, because you will always see Him and His Will in the prosperous and in the trying events of life."

The following are extracts from letters written during the last South African War to a lady whose husband had gone to the front :—

"You have to place yourself, your cares and interests, all in the Divine Hands, every day, and feel that they are safe there. This does not mean that there is to be no suffering—that would be to form us upon some other model than His own Divine Self; but whether we suffer or not we shall be safe in His Divine Hands, for all the while He watches over those who trust Him '*ut pupillam oculi*.' Let us therefore go through the remainder of our earthly pilgrimage animated by the most generous confidence in Him; seeing Him everywhere and in all things. We are going to have on the 14th Exposition and prayers throughout England in our churches—a joint Act of Special Prayer on occasion of the War, agreed by all the Bishops.

"Put everything into God's Hands and say during the war, '*Fiat, laudetur atque in aeternum super exaltetur sanctissima, justissima et amabilissima Voluntas Dei in omnibus.*' Say this over and over again during the day, and learn it by heart.

"You will be very lonely just now with . . . away; but you have ONE near, with Whom you can never be lonely.

"The African business is indeed serious; but we must spend our last man and our last shilling on it. And then, and only then, I shall say that we have done God's Will, and kept our trust to the best of our power."

A penitent who was under the Cardinal's direction supplies the following notes, written down at the time of his spiritual instructions:—

"The morning's meditation should run all through the day; we should in it make a review of the day, whom we may see, what we may have to do, whether we are likely

to be impatient, impulsive, rashly judging others, selfish, and so forth; we should keep the bit in our mouth and curb ourselves. Of course, while we do our meditation we love God. We must say, 'Show me Your Will; make me serve You; I am a poor, weak creature.' We should go to God as a beggar, and here our names come in—Pride, Weakness, Ignorance. What can be expected of me? Don't be cold with God. God will not show you what He is doing in your soul; He will not let you know in this world; we must curb our impetuosity and keep calm and quiet and think always what more we can do for God, always remembering how much natural activity comes in and perhaps spoils things. It is better for us to see the work done by others than to do it ourselves, because this keeps us patient and humble.

"The '*Stabat Mater*' is full of matter; said very slowly it brings us into touch with the Passion in a wonderful way, and Our Lady *teaches* us as we stand by her at the foot of the Cross. Say one verse as an ejaculation frequently during the day. Our Lady can *get* you everything, ask her to *give* you the Love of God. We can make up in a *short* time for everything by the intensity of our love; it is not the number of things we do, or what we do for God; it is the intensity of our love. Look at St. Mary Magdalene! Her *love* was told to all the world, many sins were forgiven her because she *loved much*.

"We should give ourselves to Our Divine Lord with great calmness and great peace, and ask Him to draw us nearer and nearer to Him. Look at Him; He is our model in all things, in every circumstance of our lives, and we should ask ourselves, What would Our Lord do

in such-and-such circumstances? How would He act and think? Now Our Lady desires nothing so much as to draw us to her Divine Son. She will do this if we go to her and if we keep by her side *always*. Just remind Our Lord when we say this prayer that He was not humbugging when He gave us to Our Lady at the Foot of the Cross. Some people find it easy to take hold of Our Lord's Feet and remain there—at least I do. *There* we can humble ourselves and remember our names. Our Lord loves us to humble ourselves at His Feet, because humility opens our hearts and can there give us fresh graces. We should remember this, and we should think of Our Lord always, all day as we are going about our work; it is so easy! We should *use* our Crucifix, wear it always in our hearts, press it affectionately, kiss it constantly. How much better this interior life with God than any other! 'A life hidden with Christ in God.' One does more good, to those one wants to do good to, by an hour before the Blessed Sacrament than by going out. I used to think that going out twice a week did good. I don't think that now; illness makes me more detached. And we do not pray to Our Lady either half enough. The '*Stabat*' is full of thoughts, and the '*Ave Maris Stella*.' I like:—

'*Vitam praesta puram,*
Iter para tutum,
Ut videntes Jesum,
Semper collaetemur.'

Our Lord loves to grant us graces through her hands, and she desires nothing better, nothing more, than '*Ut videntes Jesum*,' to bring us to her Divine Son. We shall all rejoice together, we and all the Saints, all

together; I think that a wonderful thought, so say this prayer of the Church very often.

"There is a preparation for Communion I will teach you. You take the '*Miserere*' and read it over very slowly, and you receive Our Lord as a Physician, asking Him to heal you of your wounds and sores, asking Him to heal and burn them all up. Our Lady will take you to Him, and in the '*Miserere*' there is everything—sorrow for sin, calling for mercy; and a great part of it is full of joy. '*Thou* shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and *I* shall be cleansed.' 'To my spirit Thou shalt give *joy* and *gladness*.'

"Ask Him to pour His blood over you to cleanse and clean you; there is also hope and there is an act of contrition, for not only must we make acts of love of God, but we must cultivate sorrow and contrition for our sins. Then you can go on after Communion with the '*Miserere*': 'Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made *whiter than snow*.' Our Lord is a Physician; we do not think enough of this, it must sink into us. Then Our Lady comes to us in a wonderful way. She has power to enter into our souls, and you can do all this with her when you receive HIM. It is also well during Lent to take up some special devotion, and take the Precious Blood—everything is in the Blood. It is Salvation, Redemption, Hope, Joy, when we are tried, so plunge into it, for it is life-giving, cleansing, comforting, consoling—in fact, everything—so *use* it. He desires that we should use it, for it is ours; let us saturate ourselves with it, plunge into it with joy, for it is everything to us. A practice I have is to ask Our Lady to take me into her household, not as a servant, but as a little slave, if only she will take me.

"Our Lady was given us by Our Lord as a Mother at the foot of the Cross; well, a mother's function is to bring forth, to nurse, and care for her child, but the child grows up and no longer requires her care. But Our Lord kept Our Lady with Him all His life, He had her with Him when He died, and she buried Him. Well, He wishes her to be with us in the same manner. We are so helpless that we need her care always, all through our lives; for she is to care for and look after us, and we are to have her with us always, and at our death, and, in fact, till she buries us—*in God;* we are to be with her as Our Lord was, and Our Lady and Our Lord cannot be separated one from the other; they are like strings or threads wound round each other, separate, but bound up together. She brings us to Him, she has no other object but to bring us to Him, she wants us to be with Him, she was so united to Him during His life on earth that they were one in thought, in sympathy, in desire, in a supernatural way. She therefore desires us to be with Him, she will always take us to Him, she wishes no glory for herself but all for Him. She wants us to be united to Him. She is quiet, calm, gentle, and she will teach us all this, and when we feel restless and agitated she calms and quiets us.

"The love of God is never idle; if it exists at all, it must work. Great desires God likes us to have, intense acts of love! God is Wisdom and God is Love; the soul has Intellect as well as Will; and when God sends a spark of love, a part of Himself, this inflames the Will. The love of God! The love of God! The only thing worth living for. Happy indeed are we if He uses us as His instruments."

In a letter to a priest, a distinguished Oxford Convert,

who had been seriously ill, the Cardinal says: "I am always pleased with the idea that Our Lord takes His servants in the midst of their activities and quietly lays them on the flat of their backs or otherwise renders them helpless. If we can't say *Deo gratias* when He is doing as He sees best for His own honour and our advantage, it is a sign that our activities are too human and have not been supernatural enough. After you have had your retreat and fed upon *Deo gratias* for a few weeks you will start again as a new man—a renewed apostle. You have got a great work to do for God and souls, and therefore He takes you thus in hand and fits His instrument for its work. The glory we give to God is in three orders of value: (1) Our activities; (2) our self-abnegation; (3) our patience or passion and death."

Typical of the sort of letter Cardinal Vaughan always found it hard to write—a letter of condolence on the death of the young and innocent—is the following, addressed to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Vaughan, of Courtfield, on the death of her sister:—

"St. Bede's,
"*August* 31, 1882.

"My dearest Carrie,—I hear you are very low on account of dear Alice's death. But after the natural grief which comes of such a separation, and which you cannot help suffering, you ought, I think, to feel much consolation and spiritual joy. I hope you will pierce beyond the natural, and reach with the eyes of your soul the supernatural and the great white light of beauty and bliss which she has gone forward to. But I am sure you do this as much as you can. You have got so much to do, and you have so important a future before you with all

your children to educate and lead on to Heaven, that you must not allow yourself to indulge in any undue sadness. Alice was in a very different position—hers was a very different career and a different mission and another kind of perfection. She was like the sweet flower that comes up rapidly and is picked by the Heavenly Father when it is young and tender and sweet. You are to be an old tree of the forest, to afford rest and shade to your little ones for a long time to come. So be brave and play your part and grow into a good strong old tree. God bless you.

"Your affectionate,

"H., Bp. of Salford."

But more intimately revealing than any letter of advice written to another are the resolutions set down, from time to time, for the sake of his own soul, and scattered at irregular intervals in the pages of his last diary. Running through them all is a continuous cry to God to help him to overcome self and to live for others. A few examples will suffice to show with what an abandonment of unreserve Herbert Vaughan had schooled himself to embrace the "Folly of the Cross." The following passage is undated, but evidently was written shortly after he became Archbishop:—

"I have been fretting and anxious lest I am not doing enough for God. I have then—

"1. To bend all energy and sacrifice to form the Central Seminary. This will take much thought, tact, work, zeal, money, and self-sacrifice. No work probably is so vital to the Church in England as the formation of the clergy.

"2. To build the Westminster Cathedral.

"3. To spread devotion to the Precious Blood, to the B.V.M., St. Joseph, and St. Peter.

"4. To forward the conversion of the London Heathen. This is a duty which I am commanded by the Vicar of Christ to undertake, to work at until death. This alone might suffice for a life's work.

"5. To develop the Catholic Social Union.

"6. To discharge my ordinary duties as Bishop—towards Missions, Schools, Priests and Convents, Visitations, &c. To remember that as Christ's representative I must leave people, priests, &c., brighter, happier, or improved for having spoken to me. Here is the work of the Visitation—a work of personal effacement and self-annihilation. Christ must always be acting through me.

"7. To take the Church's part in public life, public meetings, of social, beneficent, and moral movements. Prepare speeches better than I have done, and make the whole business of public life a matter of conscience. I must directly consult God's Will in each of these matters.

"8. Then there is my duty as Metropolitan, to promote the welfare of the Church throughout the province. I must serve the Bishops in all things that I can. I must do what I can to promote conversions, and bring about that Reunion of Christendom which is in the mouths of so many, and in the hearts of some.

"Now there is no doubt, it is clearer than the sun, that a basis and condition for the accomplishment of these eight heads of duty is the interior life. Without a life of prayer I shall be useless and powerless. I am an instrument, but unless I put myself wholly into God's hands, unless I surrender myself, He cannot and will not use me. I have no

natural abilities or merits which might bring about some good results. I have nothing to rely upon but God. Now I belong to Mary—consecrated to her solemnly at Stonyhurst in 1844, at Brugelette in 1850, at St. Edmund's in 1855, at Notre Dame des Victoires in 1895, and this time by vow, and all my life this consecration has been repeated year by year. I am her child, and she has engaged to present me and all I have to Jesus Christ. In her care and intercession I shall accomplish so much of my mission as God wishes."

The following are notes of a Retreat at St. Edmund's College, in the July of 1895 :—

"1. I need a great increase of generosity to carry into effect the truths which during the last months have been pressing on my soul. These are :—

"1. Constantly to seek the Will of God ; to make His Will my one all present law in all my actions and undertakings. Herein is perfect love of Jesus Christ—to love and seek to do His Will.

"2. To surrender myself wholly to Jesus Christ—willing to suffer anything so as to become entirely His.

"3. To labour unceasingly at the annihilation of the *I*—at the destruction of self-love—so as to make place in my soul for God and His designs.

"4. To become more and more in love with my Divine Spouse, Jesus Christ. To study the Passion and His Sufferings as so many proofs of His love for me. My love and service here must be a thoroughly personal love and service—no holding back, no bartering, no mere abstract motives allowing the mind and heart to withdraw from the thought and love of Jesus Christ.

"5. In this love of Jesus Christ—proof and conse-

quence of love—I must spend myself and be spent, live and die for the salvation of souls. This is the work that He has given me. He has made me His Ambassador, Representative, Missioner, and Head of the Church in England. Formidable the responsibility, inadequate and feeble the shoulders that bear it. Hence, '*Omnia possum in Eo qui me confortat*': hence the absolute need of making every effort and of constant recourse to prayer, the fountain of all strength. For all this a greater generosity is required. God will then do the rest.

"6. Another reason for keeping up a generous spirit is this: a feeling of weariness, with darkness and despondency, often weighs me down. I am then inclined to give as little time, sympathy, and care to people as possible. I am then inclined to be short, abrupt, and unfeeling. The thought comes that souls had better keep away, that they are nothing to me, and that my rest and quiet are the things I most seek. True, all this in varying degrees affects me when I am out of health, worn out and in suffering. But I must expect to have more of this state as years go on; and therefore I must cultivate greater generosity in order to overcome myself when thus visited. There is one enormous advantage, which I have discovered during the last months, in this sense of weariness and disgust with spiritual work and souls. It is this: it is the season in which to overcome self-love, to annihilate the *I*. This is the time for saying, 'Now go on, do your best, don't heed the moaning and the cries of self—self must be destroyed or vanquished. I am acting for Jesus Christ, I am His representative and I am not myself.' All this has appeared most true and practical of late, and I must pray to fight on against

self. I am asking, perhaps fifty times a day, for love of God and the destruction of self—and here is the opportunity for overcoming self without any extraordinary suffering. God grant my constant prayer that I may eagerly trade upon these opportunities. Jesus Christ presents Himself to me constantly crucified. He is nailed to the Cross so as not to be able to leave it. He is my model. I have to be nailed to the Cross which is made up of the circumstances and incidents and trials of my life. I am not to come down from it of myself. He will give me strength and grace if I implore. This is a way to annihilate self-love. Sufferings borne with patience and love in the Precious Blood will overcome self-love. It is easy to write all this—the difficulty is in the practice. Love consists in deeds, sufferings with Jesus Christ.

"I can count on His love because He has used me mercifully and most generously all my life. He will not 'change for the worse' after sixty-three years. His love shines forth through every part of my past life. Such love will go on increasing—unless I turn out a demon of wickedness; go on increasing it must do. '*In te Deo speravi.*' No more fears, despondency, and suspicions of Our Lord."

"*Oct. 25th*, 1898. Two things must be ever before me to engage my efforts:—

"1. To destroy or subdue nature. I act continually (1) from nature without reference to grace; (2) from humour—this I am, thank God, watching and acting against; (3) from the suggestions of the senses—this necessitates constant mortification; (4) from self and for self—mind turning back on itself by self-complacency, vanity, desire of praise, &c., even in the holiest actions.

"2. Continually repeat acts of love and not to expect to realise God's love or my own, which are hidden under mystery in the soul. The best proof of its presence there is willingness to take the Cross, to suffer for Him. God regulates everything—not a sparrow falls, not a hair from our heads, without Him. Everything that happens to me and round me and in me is by Him. A headache, a failure, a bit of bad news, the state of my feelings, words said by others to me—everything, *everything* is by His providence. Hence I must see Him and His Will in every occurrence. To desire to do great things for Him; to offer to do them is right. I must examine what may be His Will. After that, failure, the destruction of one's plans, the doing nothing, to be in repose as in action—all this is His Will. Perfection, love, and peace are in accepting His Will—this is death to self. This is true not only of outward things, but of interior states. To be joyful or sad, in full consolation or in darkness and hardness, no matter the mood and state of the soul. This is God's Will on each occasion. His Will must be mine, and I must rejoice in His Will, not in my state of mind or soul. The feeling, the sight, the assurance that I love God would stain and cover the soul with natural sentiments, if not with self-satisfaction and over-confidence. God may be more glorified in the total ruin of my best projects for His glory than in their realisation. For He needs my death and the destruction of what is imperfect and human more than the success of my projects. O Lord, give me a grace and inspire me with sorrow for sin and love for You. Continue Your work—do not trust me. I shall never carry to perfection a work which is all divine. Move my will and enlighten my reason so that

they may be perfectly obedient to Your guidance. Accept me as an instrument and take care of Your own graces or I shall lose them."

"*August 4th*, 1898.—1. Continue to work at meekness, gentleness, and sympathy, and so die to self to live for others.

"2. God within to be the source, mainspring, and cause of all my activities. Bear His presence within—as one therein living—constantly in my thoughts and prayers. I have immense graces to be thankful for during the past three years and especially during the last twelve months. Mary and Jesus must continue ever in my thoughts and affections, and St. Joseph is guardian of them and of me. The work of souls in England appears more than ever to depend on the supernatural.

"The question of a spiritual director still in mind and still unsolved. I have no merits that can attract Our Lord, but Mary, His and my Mother, has. I take her by the hand, never let her go, and live with her. All my prayers are through her—offered by her. He will do all for her that she asks. She is, as it were, bound to take up my cause. A mother never throws over a weakly, sickly child. I can hope for the greatest things, wonderful graces through my Mother. I am in a little skiff on the great river of life, which God has created. Mary is in my boat, Jesus is with her. With Him by my side, or within my soul, I may be at peace. Jesus Christ will show me what to do day by day. Each day, each hour is His; each hour is the river, all that is within it or near it He has ordained. I shall pass through all in safety if I see God in every event and in every hour; if I am living the life of Jesus and Mary, not my own life."

"*May* 15*th*, 1900.—In March I prayed for special love for Jesus and Mary, and that I might do the Divine Will. By March 31st I was ill in bed and have been good for nothing ever since. It came to me when I was ill that the work I had promised to undertake two years ago remains where it was. I have therefore thrown over various undertakings and have promised to confine myself as much as possible to the Book for the Young Priest. As I seem to have been drawn away from that during two years, dear old St. Joseph has brought me back to it by sending me further illness. God grant that it may be well used."

In the following year, under date August 9th, 1901, he marks the close of another St. Edmund's Retreat by three rules:—

"1. Continual ejaculatory prayers, and one and a half hour at night prayers.

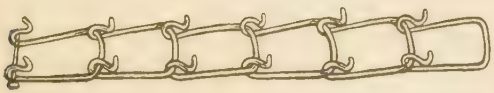
"2. Humility and love—acts of—as before, only with greater fervour.

"3. Greater generosity to God in everything—generosity is the *mot d'ordre* for the rest of my life."

It will be noted that these extracts from the Cardinal's diaries contain no reference to anything in the nature of bodily austerity. Among all his papers I have found only one reference to the subject. Upon a single sheet of notepaper, bearing date July, 1888, are a number of resolutions concerning the spiritual life, and at the end comes this significant sentence: "To continue the discipline every Wednesday and Friday—even though I have not the courage to inflict severe punishment."

This last sentence, in its mingled candour and simplicity, is surely very characteristic. Whether these

scourgings, which, at that time, were apparently habitual, were continued there is nothing to show one way or the other. In later life, for the greater mortification of his body, he devised a form of punishment which required another sort of courage. For years he wore on his left arm an iron bracelet with spikes on the inside which were pressed into the flesh. One which he had worn for some time had somehow got broken, and he commissioned Mgr. Dunn to make a new one, giving him a piece of the old one as a pattern. A day or two later the new bracelet was produced, but the points were mercifully blunt. The Cardinal handed it back with the words, "That is no use." He then gave more explicit instructions. It was to be made out of steel wire, piano wire, and the points were to be sharp. When it was made to his satisfaction, he told Mgr. Dunn to bring a pair of pliers and to fasten it on the arm so that it could never come off. When that was done, the Cardinal brought his right hand down heavily on the iron circlet and so drove it home. It was cut off his arm after death.



PORTION OF A CHAIN FOUND ON CARDINAL VAUGHAN AFTER HIS DEATH.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST DAYS

HAD this book been a history of the diocese of Westminster as well as a biography of Cardinal Vaughan, there are many of his activities as Archbishop of which an account would here have to be given. The Catholic Truth Society, The Council of Temporal Administration, Converts Aid Society, The Catholic Social Union, The Catholic Evidence Lectures, The Ladies of Charity [1]—each might claim a separate chapter as representing important events in the story of the diocese. They are of slighter consequence in a biography of the Cardinal. Even where the initiative was his, circumstances made sustained personal direction impossible. Speaking generally, it may be said that in its diocesan aspects the Cardinal's administration in Westminster was a continuation, and in some ways a development, of his work in Salford; but it was far less personal, because it could claim a much smaller share of his individual attention. During the last years of his life his grip on purely diocesan matters gradually loosened, and he had to trust more and

[1] The importance which he attached to the latter organisation is shown in the following extract from a letter to Lady Edmund Talbot: "I look upon the Association of the Ladies of Charity as destined to do the greatest work of the new departure in England, viz., the regular and systematic employment of the laity in the apostolic work of helping to train and retain the young who have left school in the love and practice of their religion."

more to others. There was one subject, however, in which his personal interest seemed only to deepen as his strength failed. The welfare of the children of his flock became his constant thought. His anxiety showed itself specially in his careful questionings as to how the work of catechising was done in this or that mission. He thought that throughout the country there was a sad want of system and method, and that the importance of early training for this apparently simple work was very imperfectly understood. This conviction grew with the years, and it was a subject of which he often spoke towards the end of his life. The following letter, addressed to his nephew, Father Herbert Vaughan, shows clearly the spirit in which the Cardinal approached the subject:—

"My dear Herbert,—I now write to ask you to take up a definite work during the rest of the time you will be in Rome. As I told you in a former letter, I want you to help me in forming the young clergy, before they go upon the mission: (1) to sacerdotal perfection in prayer and in the work of the mission; (2) to apostolic zeal for the conversion of England. The special work, however, to which I want you to give attention is the art of catechising. As a rule the catechism is taught in the schools in a way to make the catechism book hated. It is taught by the teacher of secular lessons, and is viewed much as one of these by the children. After you left Oscott I arranged for one of the German Benedictines to teach the art of catechising to the divines. That goes on, but more is required. With the new Education law and with the growth of all kinds of distraction and worldliness, both in the family and out of it, it becomes every day more and more important that priests should be good catechists.

It is the most important part of the ministry of the Word that they can exercise in England. I shall place the young priests and divines under you, and the thing that will be the greatest value to them will be their possessing the art of catechising. It will help them to teach the people as well as the children. This seems so elementary and simple a thing that a priest may be tempted to think that he can do all this by reading up a few books and talking common sense, but it is not so. I suppose the best authority on catechising is Dupanloup and the method of St. Sulpice. Some Sulpicians will be able to help you probably ; but whatever attractions you may have for other things, give your whole attention for some months to this. Become deeply versed in it—make it your real subject. I cannot tell you what immense services you will be able to render if you do. I have for years wanted a priest to teach this—but could get nobody to do it properly. This month a course of lectures on catechism is going to be given to our Ladies of Charity, but the only priest I have got to give them says himself he is not well up in it. If I can make all the young priests good catechists they will begin to attach the children to their religion. As it is, their catechising is simply deplorable, and it is a work they dislike undertaking, and are only too glad to throw upon the schoolmaster or the schoolmistress. Here, then, is your mission and work for the next few months. Get to see the best samples in Rome if there are any, and work at Dupanloup and St. Sulpice. These may have to be modified to some extent to meet national character—but not much. Happy New Year. H. C. V."

The Cardinal's constant thought for the children of his flock found expression also at that time in the work he did

for the organisation within the diocese of the Children's Crusade.[1] There are more than 30,000 children in the Catholic elementary schools of London. He wanted these little ones to be individually interested in the work of Rescue, and encouraged to hold out hands of help to their less fortunate sisters and brothers. The children of the Crusade were asked to establish a sort of fast from sweets and toys during the season of Lent and to send their pennies instead to a central fund of assistance. Thus was instituted what is now known as "Good Shepherd Sunday," so called from the Gospel of the day. On the second Sunday after Easter the Cardinal would receive deputations representing the schools of all the parishes in the diocese, and the children would bring their boxes of pennies and farthings, the fruits of eight weeks of self-denial. The first time, in 1889, £200 was thus collected, and the sum rose year by year until in the last year of the Cardinal's life "Good Shepherd Sunday" produced £520.

It was in keeping with this love for the little ones of his flock that the Cardinal should desire to connect them in some special way with Westminster Cathedral. He wanted the children of the diocese to be associated, in however informal a way, with the very first use it could be made to serve. Thus he was anxious that the children's gathering on "Good Shepherd Sunday" in 1901 should be held there at whatever risk of interfering with the builders. It was thought, however, that the place was still too damp in its unfinished state for the children to be kept standing there, and so the ceremony took place,

[1] A similar movement had been initiated some years before in Southwark by Bishop Butt.

as before, at Archbishop's House. But the Cardinal would have his way. When all the little offerings had been made, and the children had been regaled with oranges and buns, he led them through the sacristy into the Cathedral, and for one happy half-hour gave it to them for a playing-ground. There was a litter of packing-cases, and recumbent columns, and ladders, and scaffolding—and the children had a glorious time. When the Cardinal heard next morning of the damage that had been done—of bricks that had been scattered, and even converted into miniature castles, and of the heaps of carefully prepared mortar and cement which had been turned into mud pies—he refused to be distressed. He was content to feel that for those children their first recollection of his Cathedral would be associated for ever with a happy memory.

During the whole of the last five or six years of his life the Cardinal's health grew steadily worse, and, to use his own words, he had to "adjust his work to a lowered scale of vitality." It became more and more necessary that from time to time he should seek intervals of rest, and, breaking away from all active duties, secure quiet for both mind and body. Sometimes he would go to some country house where he knew he was safe not to be "entertained," or else to some remote watering-place. Early in 1897, when he was the guest of the late Mr. Harman Grisewood at Grasse, writing to a near relative he said: "I have been here over a fortnight—only Grisewood and Fr. Basevi in the house, but now Mrs. Grisewood is returning from England. It is like a retreat—far from the world of Cannes, and no one but a Bishop or two coming to call. We meet at meals only—and sometimes walk out—otherwise I am alone all day with God and His Mother, my

books and my prayers. It is a very full and a very sweet preparation for the last stage of life—or for death—whichever God wills. I could not wish for a better time. I have had nothing so good for over thirty years. The weather is brighter than the best English summer weather, the air clear as can be, the site 1,000 feet above the sea, and the Isle of Lerins is visible in part. I think I am a little better than when I left England. I remember you as usual every morning—so there is no separation—in the Mass. God bless you." To another friend he says of the same visit: "It is a delightful preparation for whatever is to come, whether it be *labor* or *requies aeterna*. And now that I am in it fairly, and see how much there is to be done within one's own soul, I seem to see that I have earned this retreat—lest, 'having preached to others, etc.'"

A little later, he wrote: "The weeks I have spent in the South of France have been beneficial to my general health, but—far more important—they have been of the greatest advantage to my soul. I have been face to face with death—with Our Lord and Our Mother. I received many urgent letters to prolong my stay abroad for the sake of my health. But I have not done so, as I feel there is no real improvement in the heart; on the contrary, my doctor agrees there is no use to prolong my stay at a distance. A Bishop's place is in his diocese, unless there is strong reason for him to be absent from it. I am therefore returning to work on a lower level of activity and a higher level of communion with God. I have spent three mornings in Notre Dame des Victoires, with the usual advantages derived from Our Lady's intercession. The result and conclusion of it all is that I hope to make the

study of the life and character of Our Lord the special work of the remainder of my life. It seems as though I were only beginning this, so clear has been the impression that this is to be the main feature."

A favourite place for these retreats was Llandrindod. On one occasion, writing to Father Kenelm Vaughan, he says: "I have been here in my usual annual retreat—which is very pleasant. No company, just a servant to serve Mass, and alone all day with God, on the hill side or in the wood, when not alone in my room. One wants this solitude once a year." The doctor might prescribe complete rest, but it was not in Herbert Vaughan's nature to be still when he saw a chance of doing good. During one visit the sick man, for want of a church, hired the Pump Room at Llandrindod, and for several successive Sundays preached there to crowded audiences. In one of his letters he notes the quickness and fervour with which even Welsh Nonconformists caught up the tunes of the Catholic hymns to the Blessed Virgin. It was an episode which gave the Cardinal a strange pleasure—it seemed in some sort the momentary realisation of his dreams in the long ago, in which he had so often pictured his life as a lonely missioner in Wales.

In another letter from Llandrindod, writing to his brother, Father Kenelm Vaughan, who was then in Spain begging funds for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in Westminster Cathedral, the Cardinal says: "I trust you are getting on well. So far, I think, you have been singularly blessed—crosses and coins fairly mixed together. When I was a-tramp round America I used to keep two pockets—one for alms and one for crosses: so that I every day got one or other of these pockets

filled—and sometimes both. And I have often thought since then that the crosses and mortifications of those years went far further to bring about the success of Mill Hill than the money which enabled me to buy the site and erect the College. The Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Cathedral will also be built up by you in the same blessed way." Surely such a letter as this lets us see the inmost secret of the life of Herbert Vaughan. Consider its significance. A brother writing to a brother, and in terms of intimate companionship, avows his conviction that the mortifications he suffered—the little crosses he put into his pocket, while he was begging his way through the Americas—had more to do with the success of St. Joseph's College than all the money he collected there. Any one who can really enter into the spirit of those words is on the way to understand Cardinal Vaughan.

Allied with them in thought and feeling is the following passage from a letter to a nun, the daughter of his old friend, W. G. Ward, written shortly after he had been called to Westminster, telling of his belief in prayer as one of the dynamics of the world: "You, in your cloister and in the machine-room, are working out of sight for the great ship of Peter, which moves steadily on. We are on deck, moving up and down as though we did it all, but the motive-power is below in the praying chamber or machine-room. Remember me on deck; it is very cold and rough, and sometimes very dark—and give me your prayers." In all his hours of weariness and despondency the Cardinal drew comfort from the thought of this unceasing stream of prayer that was going up to Heaven for the Church in England.

But the time was coming when the Cardinal knew without the wisdom of doctors that a cessation of work was a condition of life. It was no longer a case of hiring a Pump Room on the chance of converting Nonconformists, but only of creeping to some spot where the battle for breath might be continued. Early in June, 1902, a continued weakness of the heart made it necessary for him to give up work altogether and go for a time to St. Joseph's, Mill Hill. The following letter to Father H. Vaughan belongs to this period:

"*June 16th*, 1902.

"You have my congratulations on the reward—earthly reward—of your industry: for there is a much better one awaiting you on high. You must now take a little time to recruit and rest, so as to be ready for renewed exertions to fit yourself in the best way you can for the sacred ministry. All your friends will be very pleased to hear of your success. There is no news beyond that which you get from the *Tablet*. The work of the Cathedral and its future is shaping itself in a way that is quite satisfactory. But much remains to be done by whoever may step into my shoes. My day is ending; new vigour and activity are needed to carry on the campaign against the busy and sleepless enemies of the Church—*et Deus providebit*. John has had a sharp attack of influenza, but is now comparatively well again. Your father has been a good deal in London lately—staying, I am glad to say, at my house. I have been invited to the Coronation with my two senior colleagues; but we have declined, of course."

But Mill Hill was too near London for rest—Herbert Vaughan had its sounds for ever in his ears, and they seemed always calling him back to his place at Archbishop's House. He went back, but his weakness had so gained upon him that Sir Lauder Brunton peremptorily ordered him to go to Bad Nauheim—the alternative was to stay at home and die of dropsy. He left London on the 20th of June. In a hastily scribbled note to Father Henry, the Superior of St. Joseph's, Mill Hill, announcing the sudden change of plan, he expresses confidence that Nauheim will do him good, as "it suits the feeble-hearted, specially such as I am." But the treatment at Nauheim did no permanent good. After he had been there a fortnight, at the end of a long letter to Mgr. Fenton, full of business details as to the management of the Cathedral, he adds: "*June* 10*th.* I am getting on fairly—and quite faithful to the rule of feeling very unwell for the first weeks of the cure. We shall see how it works out in the end—but I am, as I believe, doing the Divine Will. I am more than contented." A month later, in a letter to his nephew, Father Herbert Vaughan, he says: "The treatment is kill or cure—I am said to be emerging from the first operation. Before the end of the month we shall see what kind of a cure it is to be. In any case it will be all right—because it will be just what God wills; and go and find out whether there be anything one-half so good as that anywhere." And again, at the end of the month, to Mgr. Fenton he says: "I am staying on here till the second week in August—as the doctors say that a man of seventy needs more time than a younger one, and it is still, I think, quite doubtful whether the cure is going to be

much more than nominal. At all events, it is a very quiet and nice preparation for life after death ; so it cannot fail to do good. God bless you."

He returned to England weaker than when he had left and knowing that the end was near. His one thought, and his constant thought, was still to crowd the utmost work into the space that was left, whether that space was to be measured by years, or months, or days. His doctor insisted that from any point of view it was useless, and worse than useless, to stay in London. Many houses were open to him—his friends strove with each other for the privilege of possessing him. He chose that "haven of rest," Derwent Hall, where he was the guest of Lord and Lady Edmund Talbot. And there, surrounded by everything that the most thoughtful kindness could suggest, for some months he seemed to grow slowly stronger. How weak he was when he first came is shown incidentally in the following sentence taken from a letter written a month later: "The Cardinal is able to remain in the Chapel in the morning and evening, and sometimes I think he sits there while we are at dinner. I mention this to show you that he is stronger ; when he came here he could hardly sit there for more than twenty minutes *once* a day, and had to lie down afterwards."

I am indebted to Lady Edmund Talbot for the following Reminiscences of this period :—

"What struck one most during the last months of the Cardinal's life was his deep humility and his gentleness. His increasing infirmities were a great trial to him, but he struggled on, in spite of his weakness and weariness, to finish the various works he felt he was called upon to do. He seemed to be always either praying or working, and the

special work he was engaged in at this time was the drawing up of the Constitution for the Westminster Cathedral. He often said, 'I have put the whole thing into Our Lady's hands, so whatever happens I know that it will be all right. After all, I am only a weak instrument.' When he arrived at Derwent he was in a great state of weakness; he came into the house leaning heavily on Mgr. Poyer's arm, and from his appearance I thought he had come to die, but he did not think so himself at the time. By degrees he got much stronger. His great trial was when the doctors absolutely forbad him to say Mass; I think that they were so emphatic about this that he imagined he would never be allowed to say Mass again. After they had gone, I went to him, and when I spoke to him about his not saying Mass, the tears came into his eyes, and he looked perfectly wretched, and asked me what they really had said about him, and if he was never to say Mass again. I hastened to explain that it was merely a temporary precaution, and that there was no question of his never saying Mass again; that they had told me distinctly that if he would only content himself with hearing Mass for the present they had every hope that in time he would be able to say Mass at least three or four times a week. I never shall forget the look of intense relief and joy that came over his whole face when I told him this. A little later on the doctors found him so much better that they suggested his saying Mass twice a week to begin with. His spirits rose at once, and he seemed to be in a state of joy during the day, and he kept on saying, 'To-morrow I shall say Mass.' That evening I told him that I was going to put his vestments on the altar, and I brought him the Missal and asked him to find

the places so that there would be no unnecessary delay in the morning. I shall always remember the expression of perfect delight on his face when I told him that everything would be ready as early as he liked, and that all that the doctors had stipulated was that he was to return to bed directly his Mass was finished. He said, smiling, 'Oh, I will do anything they tell me, and how can I thank you for making it all so easy!'

"During this time he was occupied with the Education Bill of 1902, which caused him a great deal of anxiety, and when he was not working at it, he told me he was praying about it. He often said, 'The real truth is that our prayers are not answered because we are so unworthy; if we were really apostolic, if we prayed like the Apostles, our prayers would be answered.' I asked him once if he suffered acute pain as well as the exhaustion and weakness which came over him. He said, 'Oh no, I am not worthy to really suffer. God only sends acute suffering to those who are worthy of it.' When one drove with him, or strolled in the garden with him, his conversation was almost always spiritual, and he often seemed absorbed in God and talked as if he was rather talking to himself than to a companion. 'Trials and humiliations help to keep one humble, they help us to humble ourselves before God, which is sometimes very sweet. What can be sweeter than to mingle our tears with the tears of Our Blessed Lord in the Agony in the Garden? Put your will into His Hands, tell Him everything, and He will tell you what He wishes you to do.' 'He draws us into closer and closer union with Him, and this union becomes a habit.' 'We ought to be praying always, and this is not so difficult as one is apt to think.'

"What struck me always was his humility, gentleness, and detachment from all earthly things. He did a great deal of hard brain work during these months. The Education Bill of 1902 involved his seeing a great many people; then he was engrossed in the Cathedral, and, I think, in drawing up the Constitution, &c.; then he was finishing his book for Young Priests. He did all this work under the greatest physical difficulty. He suffered from constant exhaustion, and weariness, and heart failures. At this time he remained in his room altogether, even for his meals, and he constantly sat in the Chapel before the Blessed Sacrament. He *prayed* over all this work, and I can only say that he seemed to me to be engrossed with God all day long; even when he went for a short drive, or when he sat out in the garden, he seemed oblivious of all things and to be wrapped up in God. One hesitated to disturb him more than was necessary. One felt that he just worked and prayed and rested, and that this was his preparation for death. He often said, 'I wonder if Our Lord intends me to finish up' this or that work, 'or if He intends to take me before I have completed it.' 'After all,' he said one day, 'why should one mind dying? It is what we were created for; we are born, we come into this world, to die. It is His will.' His increasing infirmities were a very *great* trial to him. What he felt most was that he could not work for more than half an hour or an hour at a time. He got so exhausted that he was obliged to lie down on a sofa and rest for a while, and then he would get up and begin to work again. During his rest he prayed. He told me that during his sleepless nights he found no difficulty in praying and in keeping united with God. When we suggested

that all this weariness would get him off a great deal of Purgatory, he used to say : 'Oh no ; I deserve a lot of Purgatory, and what is more, I shall get it too.' Saying Mass became a great difficulty to him ; in his state of weakness he could hardly get through it, but he said it as often as the doctors allowed him to do so. I always thought his recollection during his Mass and afterwards was a wonderful thing to see. He seemed quite wrapped up in God. However, he certainly got better at Derwent, and when he left he managed to do a good deal which one had thought hardly possible, humanly speaking."

But though, thus tenderly cared for in the seclusion of Derwent Hall, the Cardinal to some extent recovered his health, he knew that his active life was over. The annual Catholic Conference, organised by the Catholic Truth Society, was to be held that year at Newport, but it was impossible for him to hope to be there. His thoughts ran back to the Newcastle Conference of the year before, and to the sight which had gladdened him—the great gathering of shouting and acclaiming children, which had seemed to him at the time almost as a vision of the future of the Church in England. Unable to go to Newport himself, his thronging thoughts rang out in the following letter to the Bishop of the diocese, under date September 17th :—

" I should have enjoyed being present for many reasons of a personal and local kind, in addition to those of a more public and general nature. I have no doubt that Monmouthshire will do credit to its Catholic spirit and energy under your Lordship's guidance, and that the Newport Conference will not be among the least successful of those held by the Society year after year. We older members

of the Society are beginning to move off the scene, some slowly and reluctantly, because the work is sweet and fruitful, and our interest in it is as keen as ever; some gladly, because they feel that their allotted day's task is nearly done, and they hear the loving Voice that is calling them home. But, whatever our feeling, we cannot help looking back to see who are following, who are going to take our place and fill up the ranks. For myself, I rejoice to see many zealous and intelligent members of the clergy pressing forward, especially among the younger clergy, and there is also a goodly and increasing number of men and women among the laity who thoroughly appreciate the work of the C.T.S., and are determined, as far as they are able, to help it on. But, far off in the background, I see a great multitude of eager faces, I hear their voices like the sound of the waves of the sea. Who are these? They are the boys and girls in our public elementary schools—they are the strength, the hope, the population of the future. They form the young democracy that is going to rule the country, to make or mar the future of Christianity in this land. These inspire me with the keenest interest. They are young and innocent, they are eager and full of life, their minds and hearts are plastic and ready to take any form, any direction, you may impress upon them. If your influence is the first with them, if you have captivated their ambition and filled them with ardour to follow you, you will have secured the success of your enterprise in the future.

We know not what may be before the Catholic Church to accomplish during the present century. But we do know that the future depends upon the child, and that

it is impossible for us to render greater service to God and to religion than by training the young to become Apostles of Catholic Truth."

Cardinal Vaughan said goodbye to his hosts at Derwent Hall early in December. He felt that as Archbishop he ought to die in his own diocese and within the precincts of an ecclesiastical house. But that he had hopes he might be able to return to the home where he had known such peace appears from the following letter, dated December 26th, 1902 :—

"I have been rather too much occupied, but am not much the worse for wear and tear. I said a quiet midnight Mass, assisted at High Mass next day and at Vespers, and to-day has been rather quieter. I have called a meeting of Secretaries of Associations for Jan. 27th, so I do not hope to be able to return to the dear nest at Derwent before that day. I need not assure you and —— how grateful I am to you both for the great kindness and care you have lavished on your poor old patient during all these months past. God bless you for it all."

But the winter wore away and the spring-time came, and the Cardinal was still at his post at Archbishop's House, still working and directing all the affairs of the diocese. But the hand was failing from the sceptre, and to those of us who saw him constantly he seemed to grow more feeble from week to week. When March came he thought God would call him on the 19th, the Feast of St. Joseph. Three days before the feast he wrote out the following directions for his funeral, in a letter addressed to his brother, Mgr. Vaughan :—

"*March 16th*, 1903.

"My dear John,—(1) Don't let the Vicar-General or any one else go to any expense in hanging the Cathedral in black for my funeral. . . . I want a common elm coffin—a hearse and only two horses—to Mill Hill, where I am to be buried. No expense to be gone to that cannot be covered by what may be to my private account. (2) Give N. my fur rug, and mementoes to such as may wish to have them. (3) I do not think any will need be proved—as I have practically nothing to leave, all my bank accounts being in three names—but as to this be guided by Mr. Witham. (4) The value of my horses and carriage I wish to go to the Ladies of Charity for their works—to be added to their capital. H. C. V."

But the 19th of March came and went, and still the Cardinal lingered. When I saw him two days later he said simply, "I thought St. Joseph would have come for me. I was quite ready to go." He spoke as one might of a friend who, somehow, had failed to keep an appointment.

It had been a day of strain, and yet of happiness. He received the Last Sacraments, and at the same time knew that Mass was being said for the first time in the Cathedral—in the Lady Chapel. Before the day was over he managed to write the following letter:—

"I felt like going down to say the first Mass in honour of St. Joseph in his Spouse's chapel—but St. Joseph has laden me with graces to-day, and I am very happy. I am comforted to think of your working on to the end, you in one way, N. in another, for God. I

hope great things in the future of the Ladies of Charity. There is an immense work before them, if only they will give themselves to God as they might. They will never be sorry when they come to die that they have loved souls for Our Lord's sake, and slaved for their salvation. Of the various things God has used me as His instrument to begin, one certainly of the most hopeful and fruitful is the work that falls to the Ladies of Charity. It is the organisation of half of our Catholic population ; and if that half, which is the better because the most faithful and most devoted half, does all that it can, England will be carried forward towards God more surely than words can say. You have got your mission in this, and I leave you happy, till you are called for. My blessing and affectionate gratitude on all your works, on you, on N., and the children.

"*Feast of St. Joseph.*"

Another letter to a near relative is dated March 21st, 1903 :—

"My dear Child,—I received the Last Sacraments on the 19th, and thought St. Joseph would have come for me—but he saw I was not ready then. Perhaps I may be on the 25th, perhaps later. A good son delights to enjoy the presence of a good father and to share his company, interests, and even his nature and his happiness. We are always saying 'Our Father, who art in Heaven'—and then devoutly adding, 'But whatever you do, leave me where I am.' Do we believe? We weep and wail over the death of those we love, because we do not sensibly believe that they have gone home to their real Father and to all their best friends. Of course, I know that Our Father wishes us to do all we

can by natural ordinary means to prolong our life of work and probation—and I have nothing to reproach myself with in this matter. I have got a good male nurse—a convert—and every care needful. But a man of over threescore and ten years has a right to look with a certain yearning towards the end. Even we, who are 'slaves,' have our own little rights and hopes which the Mother and St. Joseph will keep an eye on. But I must not go on more about myself, nor should I leave you with the impression that I am dying; because the doctors take a different view and say with care I may go on for years. But *Fiat Voluntas*. I am glad to have so good an account of yourself—and you may be sure that if I get Home before you I will do more for you there than I ever could on earth. The people are coming up well to the Lady Chapel in the Cathedral, and many things are going well. I am pleased to see L. working for the Rescue. I hope the religious training of the children and First Communion will be taken up—it is quite essential it should—but it will need pushing. The world has a large proportion of its good people, clergy included, who are 'rutters.' God bless you. Yours afftly., H. C. V."

But now that he had lived over the 19th he began to feel that he must adjust his life to new conditions. He was an invalid, and yet might live for some time. He realised that the presence of a sick man in Archbishop's House did not make for efficiency. He decided to go to Mill Hill, and wait for death there. Writing on the 25th of March to the Bishop of Newport, he said: "I am enjoying my usual broken health and feel rather reduced at the latter end of my life to the conditions of

its beginning, at least in some respects. I believe I may end suddenly or go on indefinitely—in other words, no one knows, and whatever it be, will be best for me." On the morning of the 25th of March he left Archbishop's House for ever. He had sent me a message, knowing I should wish to be there. When I arrived I was shown upstairs, but outside the Cardinal's room I found the doctor chafing and impatient. "They are pestering him with papers,' he said, "and he is not fit for it. He ought to be carried downstairs in an ambulance." At last the door opened, and the Cardinal, accompanied by Mgr. Johnson, appeared. The Cardinal was wrapped in a big Roman cloak and looking wan and pale, and as he stepped forward leaned heavily on his stick. A few whispered words, and then he slowly descended the stairs. At the bend of the stairs, as we faced the front door, there was a strange sight. When I had gone up, a quarter of an hour before, the hall was empty—now it was filled with people. News that the Cardinal was leaving had gone abroad, and all the priests and students of the Clergy House, servants of the household, and a number of friends were gathered there to take their last leave. As the Cardinal came forward all that little crowd, as by a common impulse, went on its knees, and the stricken man as he passed along through the lines of people paused every few paces and raised his hand to bless. There were many eyes that saw dimly that morning, and I think we all knew he was going for ever.

The next weeks at St. Joseph's College saw his strength slowly ebbing away. He had no illusions as to any possibility of recovery. He knew he had taken his last journey, and every hour was given to a preparation for

Last Days.

death. Every day he was wheeled round the corridors, and when the weather was fine into the garden. His special pleasure was to be taken to the spot which he had chosen for his grave. It was at the end of a long garden walk, where a large Calvary was sheltered by a little grove of oak-trees. Like everything else at St. Joseph's, this Calvary owed its presence there to Herbert Vaughan. Many years before, wandering in the Tyrol, he had found a large wooden Crucifix which had apparently fallen by the wayside and was then half-hidden and overgrown by grass. In answer to inquiries he found that this Crucifix had been the symbol of the Divine suffering and an object of special reverence for many generations of men. When the winds and the rains had had their way at last, and the Cross had fallen, the village folk thought it simpler to carve a new Crucifix than to repair the old one. Then Herbert Vaughan had taken possession of it, and had it brought to England, and had set it up at Mill Hill, and to-day it is the guardian of his grave. In those last days of his life the Cardinal would spend hours together alone in his bath-chair, in prayer and meditation, with his eyes fixed, now on the figure on the Cross, now on the spot where, in a little while, they would dig his grave. And the silent figure sitting there seemed so to harmonise with the stillness of nature that somehow even the wild things forgot their fear, and his nurse tells me that more than once when he went back to wheel the Cardinal home he found a robin confidently perched on the back of the chair as though it were a favourite resting-place.

And all the while his interest in public affairs and the work of the diocese never failed. He was always accessible to his devoted and greatly trusted Vicar-General,

Mgr. Fenton, and to the Canons of the diocese, and when friends found their way out to Mill Hill to see him they were always welcome. And many came.

During these last days at St. Joseph's, Mill Hill, I saw him twice. The first time was on the 22nd of May. He was sitting in a little bare room, in a big arm-chair, propped up with pillows and looking dreadfully changed. His eyes were half closed as I entered, and he was breathing with great difficulty. When he saw me he said, with a note of unwonted eagerness in his voice, "Oh, I am so glad you have come—you must help me." Then, speaking painfully and slowly, and sometimes having to lie back in his chair, and to struggle for breath, he said, "Have you read Father Carson's book?" I nodded, and he continued, "That is a dangerous book; it teaches a false doctrine; it is by one of my priests, one of the men I am answerable for—it must be condemned." It was hard to contradict him, or even to differ from him at such a moment, but I felt that the public condemnation of this obscure book, by a young and almost unknown priest, was unwise, and even likely to bring about the very evils it was designed to prevent. I urged this as well as I could. The Cardinal listened in silence, and then, with a gentleness that was poignant, said simply, "I am too weak to argue. All I know is that one of my priests is teaching a false doctrine. It must be condemned." After a pause he went on: "There are three ways in which it might be done. It might be delated to Rome, but that means delay. I might censure the book myself, but people would not heed me now—they would say I am senile; you must condemn it in the *Tablet*." As I looked into his poor, worn, anxious face,

I felt at the moment that to give him peace was the only good I cared for. Perhaps he read my thoughts, for, suddenly sitting up in his chair, he put his hand on my shoulder and said, "Well, think over what I have said and come back soon."

Then he talked of the work he was leaving undone, and specially of the Cathedral and its future. He seemed anxious as to what would happen when he was gone. I said, "At least you have no financial worries on that score?" He answered quickly, "How could I? You know I never built when I had not got the money. When they told me there was no money for the front door at Archbishop's House we had one of planks, until some one came and gave us an oak one. We had a rubble floor in the house until another friend came and helped us." Then he spoke of the provision he had made for the future of the Cathedral, and his hope that the sale of the surplus land would some day provide an ample and permanent endowment. Then as he talked on of the Cathedral and of his gladness that it was now safe to be finished, I asked—with him the ordinary reticences about death were unnecessary—whether it would be a great disappointment to him not to live to see the public opening. The slow look of wonder that came into his eyes was answer enough. What could it possibly matter to any human being who opened it?—it would soon be ready for Divine Service, and beside that nothing else counted. But the effort of talking brought on another attack of breathlessness, and he lay back panting for some minutes. I rose to fetch the nurse, but he motioned me to stay. Then suddenly his face brightened, and I knew the old smile as he said slowly,

"Do you know the Sacramento River?" It seemed a strange question, and for a moment I thought his mind was wandering, but I answered that I knew San Francisco. Then he went on, breathing heavily between each word, "Do you remember, when the steamer went down the river, how the wash of the paddle-wheels would sometimes leave a big fat salmon stranded on the mud, panting and gasping for breath?" It was a reminiscence of his Californian days, before the coming of the trans-Continental railway. Then he added, "I am just like one of those fish—gasping for life." The nurse then came in to say I must leave, but the Cardinal, pointing to a photograph of himself that lay on a table, asked if my wife would like to have it. Then he added, "I want to write," and asked for a pen. I tried to dissuade him—he seemed too weak even to sign his name, but he persisted. Then he took the photograph and wrote on the margin, tracing each letter slowly and in pain, and several times lying back in his chair, until an attack of breathlessness had passed. The lines he wrote were few, but the time to me seemed interminable. When he had finished he was quite exhausted, but whispered, "Give it to her—my last message."[1]

About ten days later I was again in the Cardinal's room. I was shocked at the change in him—he seemed so tired and distressed, and as though almost too weak to whisper. As I sat by his chair he said, "I have to thank you." There was a pause and I wondered, for I had not the key to his thoughts. Then he went on:

[1] The inscription ran thus: "My dear Mary,—God bless you. And bring up your vigorous little family in fidelity and service to the law of God. Your affectionate cousin, Herbert Card. Vaughan."

"About Father Carson—they tell me he is dying. I am glad nothing was done about his book. If it had been condemned, that might have been a trouble to him now." There was a moment's silence and then he spoke the last words I ever heard from his lips: "You see, I have a fellow-feeling for the dying."

The next moment he lay back apparently in great physical distress and fighting for breath. I knelt by his side, and in a little while felt the answering pressure of his hand, and then knew that it was raised in blessing. The next time I was at St. Joseph's, it was to stand by the open grave.

Among those who saw the Cardinal very shortly before his death was Mr. Wilfrid Ward. He writes:—

"I was shown into his study, and there, in an arm-chair, with the scarlet-edged Cardinal's cassock hanging loosely on his shrunken form, was an old man with a drawn face which I simply could not recognise. The face reminded me of the Cardinal's aged uncle—the Bishop of Plymouth. But for some minutes I could not, even though I knew who he was, identify the familiar features and expression of the Cardinal himself. He was weak and dejected, the tears standing in his eyes, and his voice was faint. He said, 'I am very ill indeed,' and, with occasional pauses of silence, he told me a good deal of what he had gone through in the past weeks. 'After all,' he added, 'what has all my life been but a preparation for death? And now at last it is coming upon me. I ought to be ready for it; it is what I have so long tried to prepare for.' He spoke to me with great affection and talked of his love for my father and mother, and said he could wish nothing better than that I should walk in my father's footsteps. He spoke of his uncertainty as to how much longer he would have to prepare for the end. I said he ought to comfort himself by remembering that all he had suffered would count as part of his purgatory. Then, for one moment, I

recognised his face, as for the first time he smiled through his tears and replied, using an unusual expression, with which I was not familiar, 'Yes, indeed; I can tell you it has not been all "rose dabbles."' I was with him about ten minutes. He embraced me as I left and gave me his blessing and asked me to pray for him. As I took the train back to St. Pancras I seemed to recall the radiant and beautiful face of the slim young priest—not yet thirty—who found me in the schoolroom at Old Hall as a boy of seven doing an addition sum, and perplexed my child's brain by telling me that I was 'an adder,' but that 'an adder' was a 'snake,' and convinced me that I must be a snake. I thought of the many years during which he was our ideal hero, appearing at intervals to urge my sisters to be nuns, and ourselves to be priests. I recall the figure and face of the Cardinal as he said Mass for us in 1901 in the crypt of St. Peter's and showed us its treasures. 'Radiant' was the word which Aubrey de Vere used of his face as a youth at Rome, and that adjective best expressed the impression made by his presence all through his life. But now this shrunken form, this worn, sad, tear-stained face was all that remained on earth to represent the noble soul and aspect of Herbert Vaughan."

One of those on whom the Cardinal depended greatly for the success of the work of the Ladies of Charity says:—

"One of the last times I saw him, after talking in a most touching way of Heaven and of Our Lord's goodness to him, he said: 'And now you will just go on with all your work when I am gone—the Ladies of Charity and the children—won't you? It is your mission, a work God has given you to do, and I shall look after it too, and pray for you and this work, and I shall be of more use to you in Heaven than I am here.' I said I would do all I could, but that I felt that perhaps to consider that we had a mission was perhaps rather conceited—didn't he think this too? He said quickly, 'Oh no; if God puts work before you as He has done in your case, there is no conceit in

doing it, and in doing it as a mission, for God makes use of any ass He meets in the street. We ought always to say and remember this. You may say every day, "I am nothing, I have nothing, I can nothing, but by Thy grace all things are possible."'"

With the coming of June he was visibly weaker. Then came the day when he said his last Mass—henceforth he could only kneel and receive Communion at the hands of another. On the 6th of June Father Henry gave him the "Last Blessing." He then gave Father Henry a message to all the Mill Hill Missioners scattered over the world: "Tell them that I send them my most affectionate blessing. It may have seemed to them sometimes that I neglected them or forgot them, but that is not so. I have held them all in most affectionate memory. I have had their best interests at heart. For a long time past I have been engaged in writing a book which shall be dedicated to them—in it they will find much that I trust will be helpful to them in their spiritual life. I have not been spared to see this book published, but I have made provision for its being edited after I am gone. Tell them *The Young Priest* is written for them and to accept it as representing the last words of a loving father, and to pray for me."

To these closing days belong the following letters:—

"I am very quiet here [Mill Hill], and I suppose it is better than Westminster, and there are advantages which are not to be despised. I was not so well yesterday, and to-day am better. But sickness is a golden period which one ought to be most grateful for."

"Generally, I am taking great care. I am urged to this by a strong desire—perhaps it may not be altogether

supernatural—to write my message to the Priests on the Apostolic Life. It was in the Chapel of St. Joseph that I got the idea of it, and made the promise originally, and I hope it may be here that I may finish my work.

"Our Lady is very merciful and good to me, especially so of late, and I live with her in a more intimate way than heretofore. Be calm and peaceful and plunge your soul into the Divine Will."

"Those who are called to the spiritual life by such rare and undeserved love and mercy, and who are so privileged as to be poor little slaves, must expect to share in the Cross of Jesus and Mary. He bore it internally and externally, the Mother all within her heart, pierced with seven swords of grief. We are to be pleased—not with our lower nature, which recoils, like Our Lord's, from suffering—but with our superior will that lives in the light and warmth of faith, to have some bits and chips, and now and then a big piece of the Cross sent to us. Otherwise, what would the slaves be like; not like the Model! These Crosses are trials and sufferings, mental and physical, and they are painful. We have to carry them by the Two who were crucified all their lives; and by looking on Them, and on ourselves, and on the true inward meaning of the Cross we shall at last relish them. A little time ago I was saying to myself, 'Our Lord cannot be very pleased with me, for I have no Crosses worth anything.' He has since that, during the last week, sent me plenty, so that I see my sun setting on a dark and angry horizon. I have had my pangs, but, thank God, I feed on *Deo gratias* and '*Juxta crucem tecum stare, et me tibi sociare*,' &c. I mention this only to encourage you by saying that what I am preaching, on this occasion at least, I have the grace

to practise. I send you my old marked *Spiritual Combat*, —as you like marks, read the 10th chapter and the references. It will give point to all we have been saying day and night from the '*Stabat*' and the 'Die to self' and 'Will with Thy Will,' &c., and I am sure it will put a new and a bounding heart of courage into you. No, the slave will feel and suffer in the lower nature, but will rejoice in the higher; and *Scupoli*, the book I gave them here as a text-book on the Spiritual life, will tell you many things that will help you much better than I can. Pray for me that I may be a good slave."

Under the date June 10th, 1903, Father Henry says in his diary: "*Eve of Corpus Christi.* Saw the Cardinal after Vespers. He gave permission for examination and Ordination as usual in September. He asked for the prayers of the students, and I promised a General Communion for him of the Community to-morrow. He spoke about his state—how strange it was to feel so weak and unable to do anything, simply dying. How it was manifestly the goodness of God—like a Father with his child—to put him as it were in retreat. His great devotion is evidently acquiescence in the Will of God. 'I am afraid we sometimes forget *that*, we are so *active* in the service of God—so busy and inclined to trust to self; we become too natural and forget to spiritualise our work. And then God sends us a sickness—like this.'"

Towards the end he suffered much from sleeplessness, and it distressed him to find that he had lost his old power of concentrating and fixing his thoughts. He wanted to keep them directed to heavenly things, and often they wandered, and this was a subject of acute distress. But though this was a trial, he tried to turn it to

account. To one intimate friend he said : "I am so feeble that sometimes I cannot even say the Rosary—I have to get the nurse to say it for me. See what I am reduced to. But what *a splendid humiliation!*" One evening he sent for Father Henry and said, "I am sure I am going to have another sleepless night. I want you to get me some pictures and fasten them above my bed where I can see them during the night. I want a picture of the Crucifixion and of Our Lady and St. Joseph and St. Peter." Father Henry went out and quickly found pictures of the Crucifixion and of Our Lady, but at the moment was at a loss to find anything to represent St. Peter. At length he found a twopenny oleograph which had adorned the room of one of the lay brothers. The Cardinal was well pleased and said with a smile, "I don't want high art, but just something that will remind me of what I want to think about." Then he added, "Now please hang them up—the Crucifixion at the top, Our Lady at the right, and St. Joseph on the left and St. Peter below—yes, put St. Peter in his proper place at the feet of Our Lord." It was a pathetic effort to help the failing faculties, but it was successful.

The following letter was sent in reply to one from Mr. Austin Oates, who for many years, both in Salford and Westminster, had been his private secretary: "*June* 10*th.* You may come for a short conversation Sunday afternoon. I cannot see people in the morning. I am on my Cross, and am looking for Our Lord's mercy and the prayers of friends. Yrs. afftly., H. C. V."

The last letter he ever wrote was to Mgr. Fenton, and is dated June 16th. It was evidently written with difficulty and in pain—its thoughts are disconnected, and in

parts it is almost illegible. But its general meaning is clear enough, and it shows how till the last his concern for the good of the diocese was uppermost in his mind. He begs his Vicar-General to try to see that the future of the Cathedral is not left to the whim or the taste of any one man. He takes blame to himself because he has sometimes acted without consulting others. He expresses the hope that his successor will consult laymen as well as priests upon questions concerning the administration of the Cathedral and the decoration and adornment of its fabric. There is plenty of material, and he mentions by name as "splendid examples" of Catholic laymen the Duke of Norfolk and his brother, Lord Edmund Talbot. The letter goes on: "I do not know who may follow me, but I earnestly pray that he may gather all, lay and clergy, by union and consultation, in common action." And with this almost inarticulate prayer for peace and unity the correspondence of Cardinal Vaughan comes to an end.

His spiritual director, Father Considine, S.J., writes: "Twice only was I able to visit him at Mill Hill—for the last time on the day of his death. He knew he had at any time only to express a wish and I should have been at his side; but although he owned that he longed greatly for sympathy and spiritual solace in his hours of weakness and pain, he would not even in this supreme stress call away a busy man from his appointed work. What made this self-denial almost heroic in his case was the grievous interior trial by which God was pleased to purify his soul at the last. There had fallen on him a great loneliness and desolation of spirit, the soul seemed to be a sharer of the weakness of the body and

to be shaken by kindred agitations and pains; its eyes waxed dim as though in sympathy with the bodily senses, and the darkness into which it peered seemed haunted by ghostly presences, strange and terrifying. What if Faith after all were but a dream, and all its gracious truths mere pious imaginings? The physical powers were failing, and the succours of Faith appeared to be withdrawn as well; the undoubting creed of a lifetime seemed to dissolve, as it were, at the touch, and to yield no support to hand or foot; the fabric of religion was fading away just when it was needed most. The poor heart laboured and the breath came slowly, but the soul seemed to pant in a deeper agony within. It was not an attack delivered against any one revealed doctrine in particular, or the sudden reawakening of some long-laid doubt—the horror, the cruelty of the temptation lay in its whisper that 'nothing was true, all beliefs were false together, there was no God, no hereafter.' Through all this tempest, however, the Cardinal's mind was perfectly clear and self-possessed; it did not lose its balance; it was subject to no illusions; it did not believe that the evil spirits were visible to the bodily eye. But a bewilderment and a terror seized him for which he could not account, and which caused him the keenest distress. He never doubted that his state was a temptation, and even at its height he was perfectly aware that the commotion was outside him, and not within. He listened humbly and with the docility of a child to the words of his director. He prayed most fervently, although his soul was dry and his mind still dark. Most of all he found comfort and strength in clasping his Crucifix, and imprinting kisses on it, in

loving invocation of the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, and his favourite Saints. By degrees calm returned, although no sweetness and no joy, but he felt that strength was given to him from Heaven to endure, and he knew that God was with him even if hidden behind a veil.

"As I rose to take my leave he insisted, in spite of his weakness, on accompanying me to the door of his room, and I came out on the lofty terrace, overlooking a glorious view when lit up by the sun of June, but now swathed in hurrying clouds and rain. In fact, torrents had been falling all day long, and for days before, so that the floods were everywhere and I splashed through pools of water on the overflowed roads as I made my way to the station. What could I think of as I went except of the hidden counsels of God? The very turbulence of that June weather seemed, I hardly know how, to communicate to me a strange sense of relief, and not to be out of harmony with the scene I had just witnessed. My mind and heart were still full of all its smallest details—that noble figure, princely in bearing as in ecclesiastical rank, now bowed, less by infirmity than by grief, that broken voice, that troubled glance, those wasted fingers clasped in prayer. And yet in truth since the Divine Sufferer was lifted up from the earth the cry of His dereliction, if we could hear it, still thrills through the air of this our human world of sorrow, and is repeated, night and day, by some among His chosen friends, whom He makes one with Him, as now in darkness and apparent defeat, so in light and triumph hereafter. On the next day, which was calm and beautiful, I heard the news of the Cardinal's death. After the tossing of the waves the ship reaches its haven; through

the portals of sorrow his soul had passed into the Eternal Rest."

The Cardinal died shortly before midnight on June 19th, 1903. The day before he felt much weaker, and was sure the end was not far off. He expressed a wish to make his public Profession of Faith that afternoon. The Vicar-General, Mgr. Fenton, and three of the Canons of the diocese—Mgr. Johnson, Mgr. Moyes, and Mgr. Dunn—were hastily summoned from Westminster. The Cardinal was wheeled to the door of the College Church, where a number of priests and professors and students, and his brothers, Colonel Vaughan and Mr. Reginald Vaughan, were already assembled. An eye-witness, Mgr. Moyes, writes: "The Cardinal was himself in all the striking outlines of face and figure, but at the same time in many ways unutterably changed. The face was that of the dying; the lines of the features drawn, the eyes glassy and glittering, and wearing that fixed, far-away look of those who are nearing the next world and passing away from this. As he was wheeled out he looked around in a dazed, wondering way, but recognised each one of us in turn. They put his scarlet *cappa magna* on his shoulders and his red-tasseled hat on his head. The Canons formed a line behind, the nurse wheeling the chair, and so the procession went up the corridor. It was like a funeral with the bier bearing the dying instead of the dead."

After a few steps the procession was suddenly brought to a halt. The Cardinal whispered something to his nurse. He had thought of the aged lady who for forty years had lived in a cottage at the College gates and been his friend, and the friend of all the Missioners. "Does Miss

Hanmer know?" he asked, and when he heard that she had been forgotten he said, "Oh, she will be so sorry not to be here." And so the procession stayed and all waited till some one had run down the garden, and the friend of so many years had had time to obey the summons. Then the procession moved on and the Cardinal was wheeled to the front of the sanctuary.

The ceremony began with a brief explanation by Mgr. Johnson of the meaning of the act which was about to take place. The great charge and the sublime function of the Episcopate as successors of the Apostles was to hand down from generation to generation the sacred Deposit of the Catholic faith. Hence a Bishop at his consecration made public and solemn profession of the Catholic faith as prescribed by the Holy See. During his episcopate his whole work was to preserve, preach, and defend it. Then the Church ordained that at the close of his life, before laying down his charge, the Bishop should publicly and solemnly, and in the presence of his Chapter, make the same profession of Faith, thus handing down the Faith once delivered to the Saints unsullied and entire to his successor. It is the *cursum consummavi, fidem servavi* declaration of the Catholic Bishop before leaving his flock to go before Christ in judgment.

When Mgr. Johnson had concluded this word of explanation there was a moment of silence; but the dying man had still something he wished to say. Looking upon the audience and as if at something far beyond, he began to speak. "His voice," writes Mgr. Moyes, "was high-pitched and clear—thrillingly clear, and strong enough to be very distinctly heard in every part of the church. But it was not his usual voice. The words were long

drawn and *staccato*. What made it strangely weird was that the voice seemed to get higher at the close of the sentences, instead of having the usual cadence. It seemed to be the voice of a man who was already half in the other world, and there was in it something impressive beyond what words can tell." He had wished to read the full Profession of Faith himself, but it was feared that the effort would be too much for him, so when Mgr. Johnson had read aloud the form of the Profession of Faith it was carried with the sacred Gospel and laid before the Cardinal. He said: "After concluding this rite, which so far as human intelligence can foresee is the last public act of my life, I wish to ask pardon of all whom I have offended or scandalised through hastiness, want of judgment or care in the carrying out of my important post in the ministry. I attach no value to my humble endeavours or public undertakings to which people might attribute any importance. I place no confidence in anything which, in the eyes of the world, may recommend me to its consideration. All I have done has been done solely for this end—the glory of God, whose poor instrument I have been in all these works. They have been carried out by me merely as an instrument, and must necessarily be full of imperfections. I rely entirely on the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ and on the intercession of His Holy Mother, St. Joseph, and the Apostles, specially St. Peter. I ask you to remember me when I am beyond this world and shall want all the help my soul may stand in need of. I trust in God, I love Jesus, Mary and Joseph and Peter."

On getting back to his room he seemed visibly weaker. After resting a little while, pointing to his Cardinal's

robes, he said to the nurse, "Take away this finery. I shall not need it again." Later in the afternoon he was able to sit up in his chair and to receive in turn the Vicar-General and each of the Canons who had been present at the ceremony. As the evening came on he repeatedly expressed his confident hope that Our Lord would take him soon—there was nothing to wait for now.

The next day was the 19th of June, the Feast of the Sacred Heart—he was much weaker and was anointed by Father Henry. Early in the afternoon he had the agitating interview with Father Considine already described. But Father Considine had comforted better than he knew. After he had gone a great calm came over the dying man, and his soul at last knew a perfect peace. He felt sure that Death would come and knock at his door before that sweet Feast of the Sacred Heart was over. He had so longed to die, and was sure his wish was near fulfilment. Those who were with him wondered—for it seemed he had still many days. All through the afternoon he was insistent that they should give him no more drugs or sleeping-draughts. "Don't let my thoughts get entangled to-night by stimulants and drugs," he said earnestly and repeatedly. "I want only to be with Jesus and the Holy Family." The supreme hour was coming and he wanted to meet it with a clear mind.

When the summer evening drew in and he was alone with his nurse he asked him to say the Rosary. A little later he begged the nurse to pardon all the unnecessary trouble he had given, adding, "You must try to bear with an impatient and irritable old man." About 11 o'clock Mr. Young retired, giving place to

the night-nurse, Mr. Keating. At the half-hour the Cardinal grew suddenly worse and Mr. Young was called. The Cardinal could only whisper, "I have had a bad attack—the worst I have had." Then after a time relief came, and for a little while he lay back in his chair murmuring, "Jesus—Mary—Joseph." Minutes went by, and then the words came more slowly and faintly, until suddenly an ashen veil seemed to close over his face. Father Henry was hastily called, and as he rushed out of his room, meeting another priest, he pointed to the clock and said, "Take note of the time." It was ten minutes to midnight, and he was thinking of the Cardinal's wish to die before the Feast of the Sacred Heart had passed. They hurried on to the sick-room, but the Angel of Death was there before them. The Cardinal had died without a struggle and quite quietly—his lips still trying to shape themselves to the words "Jesus, Mary, Joseph."

The next day when the news was known there were many who wanted to have an imposing funeral ceremony, but the Vicar-General knew that the dead man's wish had been only for prayers, and the utmost simplicity in externals. The body was therefore taken to the unfinished Cathedral in Westminster for the Requiem, before its burial in the garden at St. Joseph's, Mill Hill. The night before the Requiem Mass I went into the Cathedral at a late hour. Its great spaces were all in darkness, lit only by the eight tall candles that stood like sentinels round the bier as it rested in the centre of the nave. No yard of mourning trappings had been used to drape or hide the gaunt bareness of the walls, but kneeling there were two Sisters of Nazareth, who

had come to spend the night in prayer with the dead. I knew it was all as he would have wished it to be. In other days it had been hoped to mark the opening of the Cathedral for public worship by some ceremony of imposing and memorable splendour. But the Cardinal had upset his own schemes—he had come back in his coffin, and his funeral service was the Cathedral's opening, and there never was any other.

The Requiem Mass was sung in the presence of nearly all the Bishops of England, of five hundred of the clergy, and a great gathering of the laity from all parts of the country. Many a stately pageant has taken place in Westminster Cathedral since then, but no more impressive scene is ever likely to be witnessed within its walls than that which was seen that day. The last public tribute to the memory and example of the Cardinal was paid by the Bishop of Newport, and it was a tribute that will long be remembered, for it was worthy of its high occasion. The following morning, on the 26th of June, the body was taken by road back to St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill. In spite of the early hour a little crowd of friends, and neighbours, and school children, and his own Missioners had assembled to assist at the Requiem Mass in the College Chapel and to listen to the farewell words spoken by Father Bernard Vaughan. The coffin was then carried out to the graveside in the garden, beneath the shadow of the great Crucifix. The last absolutions before the coffin was lowered into the grave were pronounced by the Cardinal's Secretary of so many years, Mgr. Johnson.

Shortly before his death Cardinal Vaughan wrote

these words: "It would be to my taste to have a plain granite slab and not a *monument*—quite unfit for a heart that is in the missionary life of the Church." But the wishes of the dead have often to be adjusted to the feelings of the living, and to-day a plain granite monument, in the form of a recumbent Latin Cross, marks the grave of Cardinal Vaughan. On it is carved the simple inscription he asked for. Beneath the record of his style and titles, as men knew him, cut into the stone are these words: "*Servulus perpetuus gloriosae et beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Josephi.*"

FINIS.

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